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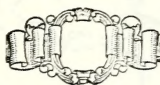
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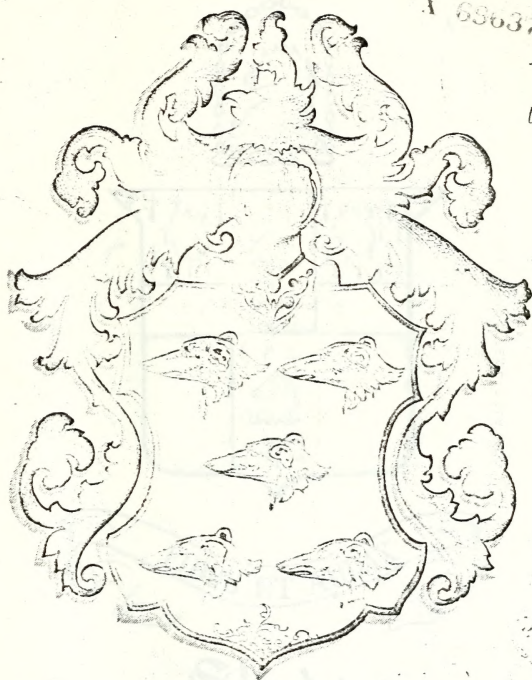
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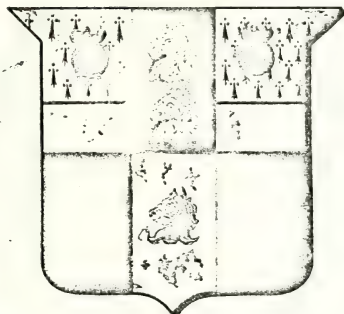
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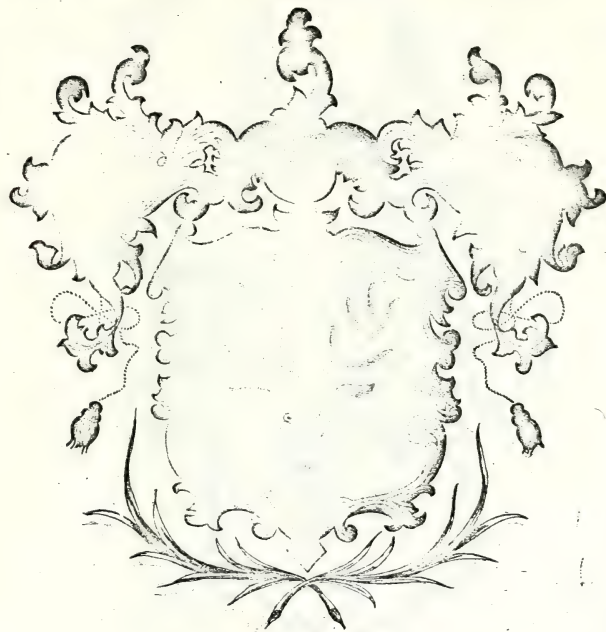
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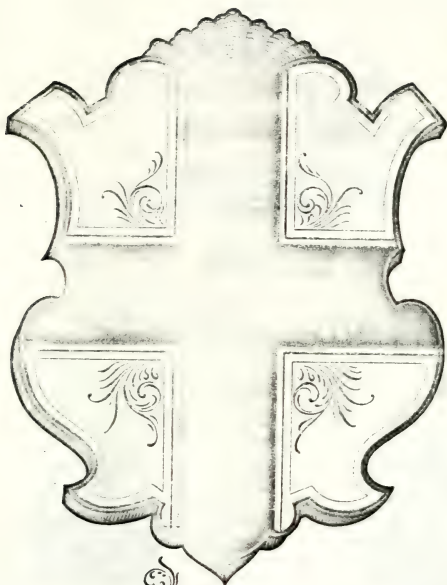
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AMERICANA

JANUARY, 1918

Heraldry in America

BY HENRY YELLOWLEY.



THIS only within a comparatively few years that Heraldry has commanded attention in the United States. Our forbears, who laid the foundations of our American civilization at Plymouth and Jamestown, brought with them something more than an intense love for that liberty under whose benign influences State and Church came to be in course of time, two separate and entirely independent institutions. They brought with them as intense an abhorrence for whatever was remindful to them of the controlling institutions in their home land which had become irksome to them, and impelled them to find new homes across the seas. Hence, for the far greater number, these immigrants practically sundered all ties that had bound them to the past, and regarded with contempt all that savored of pride of ancestry.

A little more than half a century ago, a new spirit came to the descendants of these founders of a new nation. There came to them a pride in and reverence for their colonist forefathers who laid the foundations of our new nation, and for those who followed after them and gave a new birth to freedom at Bunker Hill and Yorktown. This spiritual resurrection was practically synchronal with the beginning of ocean voyaging by steam. Writers and artists visited the old countries—men of observation and discernment, such as Bayard Taylor, James Russell Lowell, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and others; while to America came such as Thomas Moore, Mrs. Martineau, Charles Dickens, William Makepeace Thackeray; and the distinguished French statesman and

political economist, De Tocqueville, whose famous "Democracy in America," published in 1834, bespeaks him as prophet in view of the conditions growing out of the Civil War in the United States, and its participation in the tremendous struggle now going on in Europe. All these, and others, with voice, and pen and pencil, gave to our people portraiture of the ancient homeland of their day, and soon followed the beginning of a great tide of travel between the two lands, visits to the homes and churches of ancestors of many generations before, and discoveries of kinships which had not been recognized for centuries. Out of all this came reverence for the past, and the work of the genealogist began in earnest, a study which inevitably led to heraldic researches, these, in many instances, revealing family origins and relationships where written evidence was wanting. The value of this latter observation is worthy of regard.

From the earliest historic times, families were identified by some insignia, and among many peoples such was the only identification. It was prescribed in Holy Writ that "every man of the children of Israel shall pitch by his own standard, with the ensign of their father's house," and we read of "The Lion of the Tribe of Judah." It is a far cry from the Israelitish camp to the lodges of the American Indian. But there we find the *totem*, as described by our own American poet, Longfellow:—

And they painted on the grave-posts
Of the graves, yet unforgotten,
Each his own ancestral *totem*,
Each the symbol of his household;
Figures of the bear and reindeer,
Of the turtle, crane, and beaver.

American heraldry is for the greater part based upon that of the British Isles, whence came the forbears of the larger part of our people; yet many of our families derive their arms from France and Germany. As a matter of fact, heraldry, as we know it today, had its origin on the continent. Arms were well established as far back as the eleventh century, though their real moment of birth is not to be accurately distinguished. Nor was their first use due to desire for pageantry and show, but to serve for identification of their bearers; later, they bore devices commemorating their

HERALDRY IN AMERICA

achievements or the achievements of ancestors whose glories they deemed worthy of some signal recognition.

Just when Arms came into England is uncertain. A popular impression is that they came with William the Conqueror, but this is questioned; none appear upon his shield, so far as known, nor upon his banner; neither are any shown on the Bayeux tapestry. King Stephen, son-in-law of William the Conqueror, (1105-1135), shows a centaur on his seal, but no device upon his shield. Authentic accounts of Arms really begin with the erection of the Heralds' College, or College of Arms, by Richard III, in 1483, a primary purpose of which was to examine into then existing claims to the use of arms; and from which it is entirely proper to concede that they had been previously known for a long time. The Heralds' College was assigned a habitation in the parish of All-Hallows-the-Less, in London. Its privileges were confirmed by various charters, and it was incorporated by Philip and Mary, who bestowed upon it Derby House, upon whose site in Doctors' Commons the present college was erected under the distinguished Sir Christopher Wren.

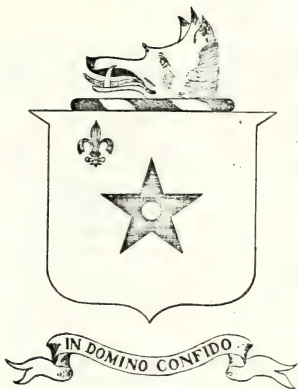
According to Guillim, a first authority on heraldry, who wrote about the middle of the sixteenth century, "Arms, according to their original and first use, may be thus described: Arms are tokens or resemblances signifying some act or quality of the bearer. They are generally and according to their present use, hereditable marks or signs of honor taken as granted by Sovereign Princes to reward and distinguish persons, families and communities, in war and in peace. These are sometimes composed of natural things, as of some kinds of celestial bodies, viz.: the sun, moon, stars, etc.; sometimes of four-footed beasts; or of birds, or of serpents, or of fishes, or reptiles; or some kind of vegetables, trees, shrubs, flowers, fruits, leaves; or of some solid things, as castles, towers, mountains, etc.; or of things pertaining to arts liberal or trades mechanical. Sometimes, again, they are compact of none of these, but do consist only of the variations of simple colors, counterchanged by occasion of transverse, perpendicular, or whatever other line used in Coat-Armour, whether the same be straight, crooked, bunched, etc."

The principal personal or family identification belongs to the Shield, or Escutcheon, rather than the Coat of Arms proper. The latter, in the military trappings of the Middle Ages, held the place of the *paludamentum* of the ancient Roman warrior—a short-sleeved coat or tunic, descending to about the knee. That worn by princes and great barons was of cloth of gold or silver, or of velvet; that by the generality of wearers, was of a sort of light taffety. Upon this was painted or embroidered marks by which the wearer could be distinguished, and this was its only merit, for it was worn over the armor, which alone afforded protection against arrow, lance, or sword. There was a real necessity for the Shield, which, borne upon the arm, could be shifted immediately in front of the body, or to right or left, or overhead, according to the direction whence came the missile or blow of the opponent.

The Shield is known in history from the most ancient times, through the Middle Ages, and until the invention of firearms rendered it useless. That worn by the Greeks and Romans was circular, or square, but bent to encircle the body. With those peoples, those warriors who returned from battle without it, were “in great disgrace, and interdicted from holy things.” The early Shield or Escutcheon of the Middle Ages was circular and convex, with a boss in the center, the body generally of wood, and the rim of metal. This form was that generally borne by the foot soldier; with the mounted knight of the Middle Ages the triangular or lozenge form became the favorite, for obvious reasons of convenience. Thus, as the Shield was necessary, and its use honorable, it came to be recognized by all nations as “the most convenient tabula whereon to inscribe marks of valour and honour.” An illustration is given by Guillim, before quoted, in the following:

After battles were ended, the shields of soldiers were considered, and he was accounted most deserving whose shield was most or deepest cut, and to recompense the dangers wherein they were known to have been for the service of their King and Country by these cuts, the heralds did represent them upon their shields.

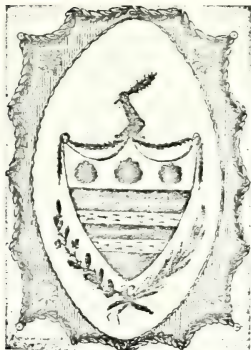
The common cuts gave name to the common partitions, of which the others are made by various conjunctions. If the shield was cut from the chief (upper part) to the base (bottom part), they gave a line of partition in that form which the French call *parti*; if trans-



ASHTON ARMS



HALL ARMS



BRINGHURST ARMS



GILPIN ARMS

verse or athwart, *coupe*; if diagonal from the right high angle to the lower left angle, *tranche*; if from the left high angle, *faile*. What they termed *parti*, we term *per pale*.

The above quotation has reference to the very beginning of heraldry in any given family, when the warrior had no inherited device, but came to the field of conflict with coat and shield unadorned, and trusting to his valor and good fortune to win an emblazonry by some conspicuous act of courage. Many novelists of the Victorian age of English literature, among them Sir Walter Scott, have made much of some unknown knight, bearing no device upon his shield, accomplishing some notable feat upon the field of battle, or in a tournament where the reward was a woman's smile, or glove, or (and in this a certain class of fiction writers delighted), her hand in marriage.

The armorial colors upon the Shield are termed tinctures. They are separated by divisional lines, and the devices inscribed upon them are known as charges. The principal tinctures are metals and colors, and they are thus described by Guillim:

Or—This color is blazoned by the name of gold. And as this metal exceedeth all others in value and purity and fineness, so ought the bearer, as much as in him lieth, endeavor to surpass all others in prowess and valor. This also denotes generosity, or elevation of mind.

Argent—This color is most commonly taken in blazon for the metal silver, and is termed Argent wherever the same is found either in field or charges. It represents water, which next to air is the noblest of all the elements. It signifies peace and sincerity.

Azure—This is a color which consisteth of much red and little white, and doth represent the color of the sky in a clear summer day. This blue is termed Azure. It signifies loyalty and truth.

Gules—This color representeth fire, which is the chiefest, lightest and elegant of the elements, and in blazoning is termed Gules. In its military application it signifies fortitude and magnanimity.

Ver—The Latins called this *Veridis a vigore*, in regard to the strength, freshness and vigor thereof, and best resembleth youth, in that most vegetables as long as they flourish are beautiful with verdure (green).

Purpure—Purple is a color that consisteth of much red and of a

HERALDRY IN AMERICA

small quantity of black. This color in most time was of that precious esteem as that none but kings and princes and their favourites might wear the same. It denotes royal majesty, sovereignty and justice.

Sable—Black, indicative of sorrow, or grief—of calamity.

After the colors (tinctures), the charges are of principal importance. Under this designation appear the devices inscribed upon the Shield, as, for example, the fleur-de-lis, the chevron, the battle-axe, a shamrock, a bird, a fish, and so on, as pertains to the particular family or individual bearing the arms. Examples may be seen in the arms of the Logans, Knights, and Levicks, in accompanying illustrations.

Of the latter there are countless instances, some resting upon assured historical events, some upon tradition, more or less dependable. A curious illustration is found in the crest of one of the Armstrong families of Scotland, founded upon a tradition concerning one of its ancient chiefs noted for being especially strong in the arm, and hence the name Armstrong. It relates to the feat performed in the rescue of his king. The latter, being unhorsed in battle, his follower grasped him by the thigh, heavily armed as he was, and replaced him in the saddle. In support of this tradition is produced the Armstrong crest—an armed hand and arm, in the hand a leg and foot in armor, couped at the thigh, all proper.

To this point, the Shield in Heraldry is practically what it was in days when it was an all-important part of the knight's equipment; but here the subject expands into the domain of both science and art, having for its foundation the blazonry of arms as instituted by the Herald's College, or College of Arms, founded by Richard III in 1485, and elaborated in the days that followed.

Passing by the intricate system of inscribing upon the Shield the lines of partition and repartition, and the well nigh infinity of charges, we may consider the appendages which have come to be displayed with it—now ornaments, which had no connection with the Shield when it was actually worn, but, nevertheless, most suitable, for the reason that they memorialize other portions of the knight's ancient equipment. Principal among these is the helmet, variously



LOGAN ARMS



LEVICK ARMS



KNIGHT ARMS

HERALDRY IN AMERICA

termed also as the helme, morion, and casque. This is placed on the summit of the Shield, and appears variously—full faced, with the visor thrown back, or inclining to a profile, sometimes with the visor closed—according to the rank of the knight commemorated. Upon the helmet is the lambrequin, a mantle or hood, its extremities flotant, and upon this a wreath comprising two silken cords interwoven or twisted together, the one tinctured of the principal metal in the Arms, and the other of the principal color. This wreath signifies its ancient use—to fasten the crest to the helmet.

The principal ornament of the Shield is the Crest or Cognizance, superimposed upon the wreath. Occupying the summit of the helmet, it was more clearly and distantly distinguished than any device upon coat or shield, and hence its heraldic name of cognizance, from the Latin *cognosco*, “to know.” This came into vogue in the thirteenth century, long after the introduction of devices upon coat or shield. Sometimes it was indicative of the office held by the wearer; sometimes it was commemorative of some particular feat of the wearer, or that of an ancestor. Encyclopedias of Heraldry reveal an almost endless array of devices—a sun, a crescent; animals and birds, in all attitudes, at rest or in motion; and so on. A few illustrations are given in the accompanying reduced plates of the arms of the Ashton, Bringham, Gilpin and Hall families.

Supporters are figures placed on each side of the shield, and, as the name implies, seeming to hold up and support it. Their use as an heraldic device is told of by Menestrier, a first authority, who states that at tournaments it was customary for the knights who were to enter the lists, to have their shields hung in front of their pavilions, guarded by their pages, armor bearers and servants, fantastically clad according to the fancy of their master—sometimes as Saracens, savages, sirens, and sometimes as lions, bears, dragons, and the like.

The swans in the Wemyss arms are a beautiful adornment, and their representation is not unnatural; in many instances mythical creatures are introduced, as in the Du Pont and De Pelleport arms as reproduced in miniature in connection with this article.

The Motto completes the adornments of the Shield. This con-

HERALDRY IN AMERICA

sists of a word or sentence carried upon a scroll at the bottom of the Shield, and used in allusion to the name or office of its bearer, the deeds of an ancestor, or as expressing some guiding principle or ideal. In various instances, the significance of the motto is undiscernible without recourse to the records (and frequently traditions) of the family, as in the case of Gilpin (see plate). The *Quo fata vocant* of the Halls, especially when taken in connection with the charges on the escutcheon, would seem to point to some important mission or achievement. Many family mottoes contain a punning allusion to their names, as *Ver non semper viret*, the motto of the Vernons; and *Cavendo tutus*, of the Cavendishes.

To proceed further with this exposition is inexpedient. The subject is a complicated one, with an elaborate vocabulary of its own. The study is one of entrancing delight to many an antiquarian and genealogist; and their descriptions, interpreted by the pencil and colors of the skilled heraldic artist, are a source of delight in many a home, not alone for their beauty, but for their historic worth in connecting the active progressive man and woman of today with an honored ancestry. In the words of Nabb, "It is indeed a blessing when the virtues of noble races are hereditary, and do derive themselves from the imitation of virtuous ancestors."





Ramon Gutierrez, M L

Dr. Ramon Guiteras

1858—*RAMON GUI TERAS, M. D., F. A. C. S.*—1917.

GUI TERAS ARMS, Spain—Vert, five greyhounds' heads, erased proper, vulned, and distilling drops of blood gules, posed two, one and two.



NE OF the most dominant and authoritative of the great leaders of the medical profession in America, a man whose influence in the fields to which he devoted his genius and indefatigable labors, was world wide, died in New York City, on December 13, 1917—Dr. Ramon Guiteras.

It would be difficult to find in the history of medicine in America in the past four decades, a man who has left a deeper impression on its pages, whose work has been a greater instrument in the advancement of medical science, whose research more daring, original and valuable than that of Dr. Guiteras. To find the measure of such a man it would be necessary to trace a history which extends far beyond the bounds of biography. In the field of surgery his reputation was worldwide, and his work had brought him recognition and acclaim in the great medical centres of Europe. Latin America hailed him as one of her own, and the United States had conferred on him from time to time recognition of the highest type in missions of great importance. In addition, he was known internationally as a sportsman and a hunter of big game, a linguist of wide abilities, and an author whose work carried weight in fields hitherto unexplored in the history of medicine. No florid eulogy, however, could do the justice to the memory of such a man, which a plain, unvarnished statement of the facts of the case can do.

First of the direct line of whom we have authentic information, Mateo Guiteras, was a native of the town of Canet Le Mar, and a member of a family long established and prominent in the Province of Catalonia, in Spain. Canet Le Mar is to-day a town of note in Catalonia, which borders on the historic and famous province of

Toledo, and in the time of Mateo Guiteras was a flourishing center of trade. Of the character of Mateo Guiteras and of his immediate family, we can only form a vague yet satisfying opinion, from the career and subsequent achievements of his son, Ramon Guiteras. From the position which the latter occupied in Cuba, it is entirely lawful to assume that he came of a strong, progressive, and intellectually as well as practically able stock. Mateo Guiteras passed his entire life in Spain, where he died.

He married Maria de Molines, also a member of an honorable and historically noted family, and a native of Canet Le Mar. They were the parents of Ramon Guiteras.

Ramon Guiteras, son of Mateo and Maria (de Molines) Guiteras, was born in the town of Canet Le Mar, Province of Catalonia, Spain, where he spent the early portion of his life. In young manhood he left Spain, however, and went to Cuba, where he later became a noted merchant. He was representative of a type of dynamic, forceful, tirelessly energetic business men, characteristic more of the twentieth century than indigenous to Spain and the Spanish provinces of his day. Ramon Guiteras was the founder of many notable enterprises, among them a flour mill, a bakery, and an extensive coffee estate. In the course of a long and successful business career he amassed a considerable fortune, and died possessed of much valuable property. He married Gertrudis Font, a native of Canet Le Mar, who accompanied him to Cuba. They resided at Matanzas, Cuba, where their son Ramon was born.

Ramon Guiteras, son of Ramon and Gertrudis (Font) Guiteras, was born at Matanzas, Cuba, August 4, 1811. At the age of four years he was taken by his father to Spain, on account of political uprisings in Cuba. On his return to Cuba he received an excellent and comprehensive educational training, and became especially proficient in languages, developing great linguistic ability. Ramon Guiteras subsequently traveled extensively in Europe, spending four years at Barcelona, Spain, and in America.

He married, in Bristol, Rhode Island, September 27, 1853, Elizabeth Manchester Wardwell, daughter of Benjamin (3) and Elizabeth (Manchester) Wardwell. After his marriage, Ramon Guiteras made his home in Bristol, retaining, however, a few of his

interests in Cuba, a small portion of the original estate of his father. He died February 13, 1873. The children of Ramon and Elizabeth Manchester (Wardwell) Guiteras: 1. Gertrude Elizabeth Guiteras, born March 2, 1855, who resides in Bristol, Rhode Island. 2. Ramon Guiteras, M. D., of whom further.

Dr. Ramon Guiteras was born in the town of Bristol, Rhode Island, August 17, 1858, the son of the late Ramon and Elizabeth Manchester (Wardwell) Guiteras, descending paternally from a noted stock of pure Catalonian blood, maternally from a Puritan family as old and proud as the foremost in the land. The union of the two lines dates to the period when Bristol was a port of consequence in the West Indian trade, and in constant touch with Cuba.

Dr. Ramon Guiteras, a cousin of the celebrated Dr. Juan Guiteras, of Havana, was educated in the schools of Bristol, and later prepared for college at Mowry and Goff's English and Classical School in Providence, and matriculated at Harvard University. Completing the classical course, he entered Harvard Medical School, where even at this early date he was looked upon as a student of unusual promise. He secured the degree of M. D. in 1883. Shortly after his graduation he went to Vienna, after remaining there a year and half, then going to Berlin to study under the most eminent surgeons of the time. He remained in Berlin six months, at the end of this time returning to New York, where he took the naval medical examination for the post of assistant surgeon. He passed the severe test with the highest honors of his class, and immediately after receiving his appointment, resigned, having taken it merely to test his ability. He then entered the Charity Hospital on Blackwell's Island, and after a period spent there, established himself in practice.

He began almost at once to attract attention in medical circles for the profundity of his knowledge, specializing from the first on surgery. He was offered a professorship in the Post-Graduate Medical School, where he taught for a number of years, some of the foremost men in the profession in the country sitting under him during this period. His rise to the highest rank in the medical world was rapid. His genius was of the type which automatically breaks down the barriers of professional jealousy. Leaders willingly accorded him

the place to which his master hand entitled him, and he stepped into a place from which only death dislodged him.

Dr. Guiteras was well known in all the organizations of the medical professions. He was a member of the Rhode Island Medical Society, the Society of Genito-Urinary Surgeons; president of the Pharmaceutical Society; president of the Spanish American and Latin American Medical Association; member of the American Urological Association. He was secretary for many years of the Pan-American Medical Congress; a member of the American Medical Association; Fellow of the American College of Surgery; member of the State and County Medical Associations of New York, of the New York Academy of Medicine, and the New York Urological Society. He was visiting surgeon of the Post-Graduate and Columbus Hospitals, and consulting surgeon of the French and City Hospitals; he was director of the former, and at one time one of its operating surgeons. His invaluable work among the poor patients in the Italian Hospital in New York brought him recognition from the Italian government in the form of a gold medal. He was Professor of Venereal and Genito-Urinary Surgery in the New York Post-Graduate Medical School.

His work as an author, curtailed greatly by the demands of the medical profession, is limited to two volumes, of great importance and value, which are regarded as authoritative in the fields which they cover. One has been translated into several languages. A third, on which he was engaged at the time of his death, remains unfinished. Always a close student of conditions and life in Cuba, he was known widely as an authority on the Island, and had been entrusted with many secret missions by the United States government. A year ago he was sent by President Wilson to Cuba to ascertain the sentiment of the people in regard to the European War. On his return he made a widely published statement of his findings there. For several years prior to his death he had been a member of numerous government advisory boards. After the outbreak of the European War he made several trips to France, in the capacity of advisory surgeon, and for research and study in the

unexplored fields which France, torn and bleeding, opened for the healing ministry of modern surgery.

The recreation of Dr. Guiteras was on as great a scale as his work. He was a world renowned hunter of big game, known as a man devoid of fear, brave in the face of danger, and one who loved the zest of a combat. He had hunted in Africa and in many foreign countries, and was a skilled sportsman and a fine shot.

Of Dr. Guiteras as a man, of his personality, a friend who knew him long and well, writes: . . . "A tall and commanding man, towering above all his companions, with that magnificent head, that majestic face, grave and serious, but with those great blue eyes lighting it, beaming with brotherly love and tenderness. And then, what genial manners he had. . . . Yes, a mind of such power as few men possess, magnetism, that wonderful gift of persuading and influencing other men. And yet the thought never entered his mind of using any of these rich gifts for other than to heal the sick. He spent them freely as he received them, for the benefit of his fellow men. . . . While we may be proud of him as an eminent surgeon and physician, we revere and respect him most for the hours and days of free medical care he bestowed on the sick."

A gentleman and a scholar, yet an untiring worker, a master surgeon, in many ways an able diplomat, an author and teacher, a linguist of fine powers, a quiet, lovable, retiring man, into whose short measure of a life time was crowded the work of many men, has gone at the height of a useful career, leaving a work the greatness of which will be measured by the number of the men to whom will fall the task of carrying it forward.

NOTE.—An account of the Manchester-Wardwell families will appear in the next issue of *Americana*.



The Decline of English Influence in Turkey*

By WILMA OREM,

INSTRUCTOR, HISTORY DEPARTMENT OF KANSAS STATE AGRICULTURAL
COLLEGE, MANHATTAN, KANSAS.



HE entrance of Turkey into the war in the autumn of 1914 on the side of the Teutonic allies, seemed unnatural to many Americans. We had grown accustomed to thinking of Turkey as a protege of England, while in reality English influence in Turkey had been steadily declining and that of Germany quietly taking its place. Turkey has long been a decadent nation. European nations for the last half century or more have thought there was no hope of recovery for "the Sick Man of Europe," but have been careful to prevent his demise. They have been equally careful to prevent his gaining strength. Mutual apprehension and jealousy among the six Great Powers has kept the Turk in tenancy at the straits, for this directorate would not allow any one Power to appropriate the most desired of cities. With the opening of the twentieth century, Turkey showed signs of regeneration, but received no encouragement from the European Concert. She was even punished for trying to reform herself in 1908 by the loss of Bosnia and Herzegovina. That Turkey in Europe has survived the nineteenth century, is due to England's thwarting the schemes of Russia in 1856 and again in 1878 to acquire a front door on the Mediterranean at the expense of the Turk. England had for a long time played the *role* of friend to the weak, because of her interest, and her desire to maintain the balance of power in Europe. Napoleon had dreaded to see Russia at Constantinople, and sought to prevent it by inspiring England and Russia against each other. England was easily frightened by the

*Written for a History Seminary in 1916 conducted by Prof. E. R. Turner, University of Michigan.

THE DECLINE OF ENGLISH INFLUENCE IN TURKEY

idea of a Russian advance, while to Russia he suggested that England was the obstacle to the realization of her dream of an outlet to warm waters.¹

Hardships suffered as a result of corrupt and inefficient administrations in their respective countries, linked the British and Turkish soldiers together in the Crimea. The burial ground of the British soldiers at Scutari, opposite Constantinople, has been a constant reminder to the Turks of the friendship of Great Britain. Another bond between England and Turkey was the 82,000,000 Mussulman subjects of Great Britain who look to the Sultan as their spiritual leader. Turkey put her faith in England as a Mussulman power to protect her from the machinations of other European powers.² There was always a fear on the part of Englishmen that a breach with Turkey would mean a revolt of the Mohammedan portion of their empire.

Nevertheless, since the Crimean war, the attitude of the British government has changed from friendliness to hatred, the change coming abruptly with the fall of the Beaconsfield government in 1880.³ Gladstone was then the dominant figure in England. He was prone to let sentiment run away with his reason, especially when excited by the massacres of the Christians. As a result of his fiery eloquence there was a revulsion of feeling in England. Abdul Hamid, the absolute ruler of Turkey from 1876 to 1908, was brought up with the warmest sympathy for England. His father considered England to be Turkey's best friend.⁴ He became aware of the feeling against him by the titles given him in English newspapers as, "Great Assassin," "Abdul the Damned," and "Sultan Rouge."⁵ Paragraphs regarding Turkey, usually abusive, were translated for the benefit of high Turkish dignitaries, and were sometimes shown to the Sultan as a mirror of public opinion in England.⁶ While the Sultan was being disillusioned, one Turkish statesman, Kiamil

1. J. Ellis Barker—"The Future of Constantinople," *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1915.

2. *London Weekly Times*, October 25, 1912.

3. Valentine Chirol, *The Middle Eastern Question*, p. 186.

4. Alfred Stead, "Great Britain and Turkey," *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXIX, p. 422.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Sidney Whitman, "England and Germany at Constantinople," *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXVII, p. 773.

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Pasha, always maintained that England alone had the higher interests of Turkey and Islam at heart.⁷

But England has not lacked opportunities to redeem herself. With every upheaval, Turkey has turned expectantly to England for sympathy and support. In 1908 the populace proudly bought buttons that were "made in England," and cheered her name. The new school of Turkish statesmen swept away the satellites of Germany, and put their confidence in Great Britain.⁸ The revolution was welcomed by the latter country but she soon assumed an attitude of indifference.⁹ A conference to settle Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bulgaria's declaration of independence was advocated by Sir Edward Grey, but he lacked the means to enforce it.¹⁰ Consequently, Bulgaria thought in 1912 that the demand upon her to abandon her conquests would not be backed by material pressure.¹¹ The English position regarding the second revolution of April, 1909, was characterized by Sir Edward Grey's remark. "We did not take sides."¹² During the Italian war of 1911, Turkey showed her appreciation of the cordial attitude of the British Foreign Office, which led Mr. Noel Buxton to say in Parliament, "During the last year or two the attitude of the Government has been rather too cold toward the Turkish government. . . . Let us give credit where credit is due, and not be loth to praise as well as to blame."¹³ In spite of her realization that a policy of coldness and rebuffs had not been successful, England did not assist the new régime or make an effort to further the cordial relations. The feeling against England since has probably been due to what was omitted, owing to her critical, unsympathetic attitude, rather than to what was committed.

The Powers had protested their amity, and made treaties to preserve the integrity of the Turkish Empire, yet Austria took Bosnia

7. *London Weekly Times*, November 21, 1913.

8. Angus Hamilton, "Turkey: The Old Regime and the New," *Fortnightly Review*, XC, p. 382.

9. H. Herbert, 5 *Parliamentary Debates*, XXXII, p. 2565, 7.

10. Sidney Brooks, "British Policy in the Near East," *Fortnightly Review*, XCIX, p. 112.

11. *London Weekly Times*, October 11, 1912.

12. Sir E. Grey, 5 *P. D.* XXXII, p. 159.

13. Noel Buxton, 5 *P. D.*, XXII, p. 1328.

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and Herzegovina, Italy took Tripoli; and Greece, Servia and Bulgaria were allowed to divide Macedonia among them. Is it any wonder that the *Tanin*, a Turkish newspaper, remarked bitterly that the word "justice" was a lie in Europe?¹⁴ In 1912 the Balkan Committee said, "Historically the responsibility for this war falls on the Powers, and in the fullest measure on Great Britain;"¹⁵ while Premier Asquith said, when requested by Turkey to mediate, "The victors are not to be robbed of the fruits which cost them so dear."¹⁶

Meanwhile what was being lost gradually to England was being gained by Germany. Bismarck was quick to seize the opportunity offered by the Turkish resentment to the change of policy by Gladstone's cabinet, and immediately began to play the part of "the friend of Turkey;"¹⁷ German interest in Asia Minor dated from 1838, when Moltke conceived the idea of a gigantic railway in Asiatic Turkey, to be used for strategic purposes.¹⁸ But it was not until the unification of the empire that attention was again called to the undeveloped resources of the Levant. It is supposed that Cecil Rhodes directed the attention of the Kaiser in that direction, in compensation for Africa.¹⁹ Germany had an ever increasing population and was in need of a field for expansion. The path of least resistance lay to the southeast. Germany dreamed of an empire which should stretch from the Baltic Sea to the Persian Gulf—large and small states bound together by a common emperor, a customs union, an army and a navy.²⁰ A further connecting link was to be an all German railway from Hamburg, through Constantinople, to Basra.²¹ German enterprise set to work to bring about this scheme of economic ascendancy.

In 1889, William II. visited Constantinople with a view to creat-

14. *London Weekly Times*, September 29, 1911.

15. *London Weekly Times*, October 18, 1912.

16. *London Weekly Times*, November 15, 1912.

17. Valentine Chirol, *The Middle Eastern Question*, p. 196.

18. Synd Hossain, "Turkey and German Capitalists," *Contemporary Review*, CVII, p. 488.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Sir H. H. Johnston, "The Legitimate Expansion of Germany," *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXIV, p. 427.

21. J. A. Spender, "Great Britain and Germany," *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXIV, p. 816.

ing a German interest in the Near East.²² He and Abdul Hamid seemed very much pleased with each other, but no benefit ever came to the latter from this Platonic friendship. Germany has been careful not to commit herself or risk her own interests for Turkey's welfare in connection with the various Balkan troubles.

But Germany had a more important reason than the economic for her interest in the Sultan's domain. Her farsighted statesmen realized that England would be more and more a barrier to German expansion. The vulnerable part of the British Empire—the only place where she could be attacked by land—was Egypt and the Suez canal. Turkey was the only country in a position to strike there.²³ It has been asserted that Lord Kitchener was sent to Egypt because England realized this potentiality.²⁴ Turkey would be willing to combine with Germany for this purpose because, according to the Minister of Marine, Egypt was on their frontier and they felt about it as the French did about Alsace-Lorraine.²⁵ By way of Turkey would be the only route over which Germany could import foreign food and raw material in case of war with the Western powers. Turkey would also serve as a weapon against Russia, with whose interests German schemes were sure to collide. Austria demanded German watchfulness in the Balkans, where her vital interests lay, in return for her support in case Germany got into difficulties with France or England.²⁶ Bernhardt said in 1911, "Turkey—the predominant Power of the Near East—is of paramount importance to us. She is our natural ally; it is emphatically our interest to keep in close touch with her. . . . Turkey is the only Power which can threaten England's position in Egypt, and thus menace the short sea-route and the land communications to India. We ought to spare no sacrifices to secure this country as an ally for the eventuality of a war with England or Russia. Turkey's interests are ours."²⁷

22. Robert Crozier Long, "Great Britain and Germany," *Fortnightly Review*, XCVI, p. 876.

23. Ibid.

24. Politicus, "The Eastern Question and European War," *Fortnightly Review*, XCIII, p. 994.

25. J. Ellis Barker, "Germany and Turkey," *Fortnightly Review*, CII, p. 1011.

26. Cecil Battine, "Turkey and the Triple Alliance," *Fortnightly Review*, XCV, p. 51.

27. Bernhardt, *Germany and the Next War*, p. 101.

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The military and official castes are similar in Germany and Turkey, for in both countries authority rests in superiors unaccountable to those they command. The origin of this authority is force upholding tradition. The sparing of life and suffering is not to be thought of when advancing a military or political end. Both Germans and Turks possess a passive obedience to superiors and an imperturbability in the face of excitement or danger.²⁸ To both can be applied the lines from Tennyson:

"Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die."

The German could understand the Turk far better than could the Englishman. He came to Turkey with an open-mind—a readiness to understand the Turk's nature and customs and to respect his religion—thereby obtaining a social sympathy.²⁹ The Sultan was unable to understand the higher motives behind English protests against concrete benefits, while German motives of self-interest were comprehensible and above suspicion.

The German Emperor won his way into the graces of Abdul Hamid by presents, congratulatory telegrams, and marks of especial courtesy.³⁰ In 1896, when the world was horrified by the Armenian massacres, Emperor William sent the Sultan a family photograph as a birthday gift.³¹ In 1898 he paid a visit to the Sultan, and praised him when other rulers had nothing but adverse criticism.³² Sixteen years after this visit, Turkey went into the war as an ally of Germany. Emperor William was subtle enough to love Abdul Hamid, and then to bless his betrayers: also to keep the good will of Turkey when war was declared against her by a member of the Triple Alliance. Outside of the palace, however, the Germans had few friends. They inspired more jealousy than love among the people, by reason of their being friends of the Sultan, and by their selfishness and businesslike capacity.³³

28. H. A. Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe*, p. 61.

29. Sidney Whitman, "England and Germany at Constantinople," *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXVII, p. 773.

30. Valentine Chirol, *The Middle Eastern Question*, p. 196.

31. H. A. Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe*, p. 63.

32. J. Ellis Barker, "The Change in the Balance of Power," *Nineteenth Century*, LXXIII, p. 1196.

33. Valentine Chirol, *The Middle Eastern Question*, p. 198.

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The German press published appreciative articles which, like the opposite kind from England, were translated for the perusal of Turkish officials. German professors wrote of their travels in Turkey, while such articles from the pen of Englishmen were chiefly records of hardships.³⁴ English newspapers barely mentioned events in Turkey; the German accounts were fairly complete and accurate, and the Austrian reports were long, minute and correct.³⁵

The English colony at Constantinople had no club of its own, but formed a minority of the Polyglot club. The German colony had two—the Teutonia and the Artisans' Clubs. They celebrated the birthday of their Emperor by services at church in the morning, an official reception at the embassy at noon, and an ambassadorial visit to the clubs, dining at the Teutonia.³⁶ This solidarity of the Germans was made to further their national interests, by a competent ambassador, Baron Marshall von Bieberstein. He was Germany's ablest diplomat,³⁷ and the fact that he was kept at Constantinople fifteen years shows the importance of that post to Germany. After the downfall of Abdul Hamid, he succeeded in being useful to the Young Turks until his inability to prevent the Italian annexation of Tripoli made him ask to be transferred to London. He entered upon his duties there in 1912, but died before he could make his influence felt. Baron Marshall had a commanding presence, an air of engaging frankness, and a combination of force, good humor and sagacity. He realized the power of the press and kept a watchful eye upon it, dispensing only such news and views as he wished disseminated.³⁸

Another way in which Germany ingratiated herself with the Turkish authorities was her policy of never worrying the Sultan about reforms or the wrongs of his Christian subjects. Abdul Hamid laid the loss of Greece and Bulgaria to the reforms of the other

34. Sidney Whitman, "England and Germany at Constantinople," *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXVII, p. 773.

35. Capt. von Herbert, "Kaimil Pasha and the Succession in Turkey," *Fortnightly Review*, XC, p. 419.

36. Sidney Whitman, "England and Germany at Constantinople," *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXVII, p. 773.

37. J. Ellis Barker, "The Change in the Balance of Power," *The Nineteenth Century*, LXXIII, p. 1196.

38. *London Weekly Times*, September 27, 1912

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European Powers.³⁹ Great Britain consistently endeavored to bring justice and good rule, but her democratic enthusiasm and vacillating policy excited suspicion.⁴⁰ Sir Edward Grey proposed to establish civilized order in Macedonia, but Berlin and Vienna supported the Sultan in his opposition to the growth of local patriotism and self government.⁴¹ The constitution of 1908 was granted to baffle intervention by Great Britain and Russia, who had projected a series of reforms foreshadowing the introduction of autonomous institutions.⁴² During the first Armenian massacre, the Germans were the only ones among the foreign residents in Turkey who maintained silence.⁴³ If they did not approve, they at least did not remonstrate. It was to Germany's advantage to do nothing to lose the favor of Abdul Hamid. The German press was the only one to recognize a Turkish side to the Armenian question. When the conspiracy of 1896 came to a head, twenty per cent of the fattest civil appointments were held by Armenians—a fact overlooked by other European papers.⁴⁴

Germany realized that Abdul Hamid's power was greater as Khalif than Sultan. Mohammedans all over the world looked to the ruler of Turkey as the Commander of the Faithful. The *Bombay Gazette* once said, "I think it is the duty of every true Mohammedan to take a deep interest in the welfare of the Ottoman Empire."⁴⁵ And it was the Mohammedan element upon which Great Britain depended in the ruling of India. An instance showing that Englishmen regarded the situation as serious, was Alfred Stead's advocating an ambassador being sent to the spiritual head of Islam as well as to the Vatican.⁴⁶ Germany had but slightly more than two million Mohammedan subjects and Turkey sixteen or eighteen million, to England's eighty-two million, but on that memorable visit

39. Valentine Chirol, "Turkey in the Grip of Germany," *Quarterly Review*, CCXXII, p. 240.

40. Cecil Borttine, "Turkey and the Triple Alliance," *Fortnightly Review*, XCV, p. 55.

41. "Foreign Affairs: A Chronique," *Fortnightly Review*, XC, p. 335.

42. *London Weekly Times*, August 9, 1912.

43. Lord Cromer, "The Suicide of the Turk," *Spectator*, CXV, p. 541.

44. Sidney Whitman, "England and Germany at Constantinople," *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXVII, p. 87.

45. Alfred Stead, "Great Britain and Turkey," *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXIX, p. 417.

46. *Ibid.*

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of William II. to Turkey in 1899,⁴⁷ at a banquet in Damascus, he declared himself in the following words to be the Protector of Mohammedanism: "May the Sultan of Turkey and may the 300,000,000 Mohammedans throughout the world who venerate in him their Khalif, be assured that the German Emperor will be their friend at all times."⁴⁸ The emissaries sent to India and Egypt in August, 1914, to stir up feeling against Great Britain, did not succeed, for the Mohammedans were sensible to the benefits conferred by English rule. In the words of a Mussulman Indian, "Why should anyone question the loyalty of India? Is it not our Empire, too?"⁴⁹ There is no doubt but that the Khalifate had lost prestige in the years just preceding the outbreak of the war. The Amir of Afghanistan came to regard himself as the head of Islam, owing to the fact that all other Mohammedan potentates were under the control of foreigners. To further his position, he maintained close relations with Constantinople and representatives at the holy cities.⁵⁰

In 1897, Herr von Kuhlemann, general manager of the Turkish Oriental Railway, summarized the difference between the Germans and English in Turkey as follows: Of course we all want to make money here, but the differences between us Germans and others is, that they want to reap before they have sown, whereas we are prepared to give something in return for what we ask in the way of payment."⁵¹ To do this they have promoted commerce and colonization. Her geographical position placed Germany in close connection with the Turkish Empire down the Danube and through the Black Sea, as well as by rail through Servia and Bulgaria. Over these routes each year, more and more young Germans from the crowded Fatherland have pushed into Turkey, particularly into the vulnerable portion of Asia Minor. This army of invasion quietly took possession of banks, mines, counting houses and rail-

47. Ibid.

48. J. Ellis Barker, "The Change in the Balance of Power," *The Nineteenth Century*, LXXIII, p. 1196.

49. C. Roberts, 5 *Parliamentary Debates*, LXVIII, p. 1356.

50. *London Weekly Times*, September 6, 1912; also M. Sykes, 5 *Parliamentary Debates*, LIX, p. 2166.

51. Sidney Whitman, "England and Germany at Constantinople," *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXVII, p. 773.

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ways.⁵² At Beyrouth, for instance, a German colony had established a bank, two hotels, an orphanage, hospital and postoffice, and German steamers called regularly.⁵³ German banks and hospitals were much in evidence in all cities of any consequence. Germany spent much more money on their schools in Turkey than did England; consequently the English schools had a mere handful of pupils compared with the German and French,⁵⁴ even though the Turks were very anxious to give their sons an English education. Turkey appealed with irresistible force not only to the soldier heart of a military state, but to the clear sight of the German statesman and to the pocket of the German merchant.

All commercial activities were encouraged and subsidized by the German government. It is to this encouragement that German commercial superiority is principally due, for the English colonists appealed to their government in vain.⁵⁵ Then, too, all candidates for German consulships must have had a practical knowledge of commerce industry, and shipping. *The London Times* remarked that not only would the same test be a good thing for England, but that she also needed a minister of commerce who knew practical German trade.⁵⁶ The North-German-Lloyd and Hamburg-American lines were urged to extend operations to the Mediterranean, Persian Gulf and Red Sea. The finest steamers that came to Constantinople were German, Austrian, Italian and Russian. Since 1877, foreign bankers and powerful French and German syndicates have taken the place of English financial influence. Nearly all the railways and most of the shipping have gone into other than English hands.⁵⁷ In the twenty years from 1882 to 1902, the shipping from Germany to Turkey increased in value from 5,900,000 to 43,300,000 marks; and from Turkey to Germany from 1,200,000 to

52. Cecil Battine, "Turkey and the Triple Alliance," *Fortnightly Review*, XCV, p. 54.

53. Herbert Vivian, "Turkey's Asiatic Problems," *Fortnightly Review*, XCIX, p. 674.

54. Noel Buxton, 5 *Parliamentary Debates*, XXII, p. 1330.

55. Sidney Whitman, "England and Germany at Constantinople," *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXVII, p. 773.

56. *London Weekly Times*, May 12, 1911.

57. Sidney Whitman, "England and Germany at Constantinople," *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXVII, p. 773.

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36,600,000 marks.⁵⁸ Naturally, material needed in Turkey would be ordered from the country that provided the financial backing.

Commerce and home industries could not be developed to a great extent until the resources of Asia Minor were opened up, and this could not be done without railways. All Turkey in Asia became a field for railway expansion. The Anatolian was the first railway in Asiatic Turkey, being transferred to a German company in 1888, after having been started by German engineers at the order of the Turkish government.⁵⁹ A French company was compelled to pass under the control of the Anatolian by being refused railway connection with the German road, and thereby being deprived of its share of trade. Upon the surrender of the French company, the Porte immediately reversed its former decision and allowed the junction of the two lines.⁶⁰ The Anatolian Company retired in 1903 to make room for the Imperial Ottoman Baghdad Railway Company. The Germans invited Russia, England and France to take shares in the company, but they would have had little share in the control of the road, as, out of eleven directors, three were to be Ottoman subjects and three from the old Anatolian Company. Germany was well paid for her esteem for the Sultan by the Baghdad concession, which was granted for a term of ninety-nine years. The railway was divided into three sections for purposes of construction. The first, two hundred kilometers or 125 miles, reaching to the Taurus mountains, was to be completed in two years, and the whole line in eight years subject to the fulfillment of its financial obligations by the Turkish government, and subject also to unavoidable delays.

In reality this gave the company any length of time in which to complete the railway.⁶¹ The agreement for the second section was not signed until 1908, and then tunnelling through the mountains proceeded very slowly as Russia, France and England boycotted the bonds.⁶² The third section, from El Helif in Mesopotamia to Baghdad, a distance of six hundred miles, was begun in 1912. The Ottoman government guaranteed eleven thousand francs per kilometer,

58. Valentine Chirol, "*The Middle Eastern Question*," p. 188.

59. T. A. O'Connor, "The Baghdad Railway," *Fortnightly Review*, CI, p. 201.

60. Valentine Chirol, *The Middle Eastern Question*, p. 190.

61. *Ibid.*

62. T. A. O'Connor, "The Baghdad Railway," *Fortnightly Review*, CI, p. 202.

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built and open to traffic, and 4,500 francs per kilometer toward working expenses. Two annuities of 35,000 francs each were also granted for betterment of works and express train services respectively.⁶³

The English had one railway in Asia Minor—from Smyrna to Aidin—but were doomed to exclusion from a wider field. Oddly enough, it was the only railway in Turkey which paid its own way without receiving a kilometric guarantee from the Turkish government.⁶⁴ The English never have asked a kilometric guarantee, while the Germans always have and obtained it. In 1911, Ismail Kemal Bey, leader of the Liberal party, reiterated that the Baghdad railway could have been constructed without a guarantee, and stated his position in these words: "I consider that in attempting to save the country £4,000,000, I acted more patriotically than those who allowed a foreign railway company to prey upon its resources."⁶⁵ Following this speech there was a scene in the Turkish Chamber in which Kemal Bey was assaulted by the Grand Vizier.

Railway connection between Constantinople and the holy cities of Medina and Mecca was all important to Abdul Hamid. It would mean to the Mohammedan world what the Suez Canal does to the economic world. Through connection was to be established by building the Hejaz line under Turkish auspices from some point on the Baghdad railway before it crosses the Euphrates, southward to Mecca.⁶⁶ The Baghdad railway with the Hejaz line would make possible a rapid mobilization of troops in Turkey, and put Germany within striking distance of Egypt.

Furthermore, the Persian Gulf was surely not the ultimate terminus of the German line. The Baghdad railway was evidently meant to be the central section of a line connecting Europe with India and China, laying between the Trans-Siberian railway on the north and the British all-sea connection on the south.⁶⁷ This would offer a route for German "peaceful penetration" farther into Asia.

63. Valentine Chirol, *The Middle Eastern Question*, p. 207, 9.

64. H. F. B. Lynch, "The Baghdad Railway, *Fortnightly Review*, XCV, p. 377.

65. *London Weekly Times*, March 10, 1913.

66. Alfred Stead, "Great Britain and Turkey," *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXIX, p. 426.

67. George H. Allen, *The Great War*, p. 167.

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If the road from Baghdad to the Persian Gulf were built under German auspices, it would seriously menace the British Empire in the East. Koweit, a principality on the western side of the Gulf, seemed to be the best terminal on account of its harbor. Great Britain succeeded in establishing a protectorate over Koweit by means of a treaty with the Sheikh.⁶⁸ Negotiations ensued until in January, 1914, a settlement was reached providing for the recognition by Turkey of the British Protectorate over Koweit, and for continuation of the Baghdad railway to Basra, Great Britain having the right to construct the line from Basra to Koweit, and two British delegates were to be appointed to the directorate of the Baghdad Company.⁶⁹ Anxiety concerning Germany in Asia led Great Britain into an agreement with her old enemy, Russia, and together they planned a railway through Persia connecting Russian and Indian lines.⁷⁰ Work on the Baghdad railway has continued despite the outbreak of the war, and now comes the announcement that the Taurus Mountains have been pierced, and railway connection is open from Berlin to Baghdad.

The concessions granted by Turkey were not granted to the German government. Baron Marshall von Bieberstein was instrumental in securing them, but acted on behalf of German financial groups, principally the Deutsche Bank.⁷¹ In January, 1913, a syndicate led by the Deutsche Bank got a concession for a Constantinople Metropolitan Railway, combined with such an advance as to satisfy the urgent requirements of the Turkish treasury. In July, 1913, Turkey obtained a loan of £1,500,000 which made possible the advance on Adrianople, in return for an extension of the Ottoman Regie Concession. In December of the same year they got a loan of £4,500,000, and gave a concession for a Dardanelles-Smyrna railway, with a guarantee, and the Jerusalem tramways and electric light without a guarantee. This money went to buy a Brazilian dreadnaught.⁷² In the spring of 1914, a Turkish loan of £32,000,-

68. Valentine Chirol, *The Middle Eastern Question*, p. 232.

69. T. A. O'Connor, "The Baghdad Railway," *Fortnightly Review*, CI, p. 211.

70. *London Weekly Times*, August 25, 1911.

Cecil Battine, "Turkey and the Triple Alliance," *Fortnightly Review*, XCV, p. 55.

71. Synd Hossain, "Turkey and German Capitalists," *Contemporary Review*, CVII, p. 488.

72. M. Sykes, 5 *P. D.*, LIX, p. 2169.

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000 was negotiated in Paris, £20,000,000 of which was issued before Turkey entered the war.⁷³ With every loan, Turkey got further into the toils of European financiers, which would lead inevitably to annexation. The financiers secured spheres of influence as their security, which would sooner or later become territory. An empire can survive defeat and disaster, but not such exploitation as that of the Concessionaires.

Turkey was hampered in the control of her judicial and financial affairs by treaty agreements with the leading European nations, guaranteeing exemption from taxation, and the jurisdiction of consular, instead of Turkish courts, to their subjects residing in the Turkish Empire.⁷⁴ Further conventions limited Turkish control of her tariff schedule without European consent. In 1907 her import duties were raised from 8% to 11% *ad valorem* for a period of seven years. By 1911, Turkey was anxious to have them raised to 15%,⁷⁵ but was at the mercy of the Powers, who had their own commercial interests to consider. Turkey was thus deprived of much revenue. Besides being a blow to pride, these various agreements or capitulations restricted Turkey's sovereignty, and implied that she could not be trusted in the management of affairs touching foreign subjects. It was the ideal of the Young Turk party to abrogate the capitulations which had existed in some form since 1535, being an outgrowth of the quarters and trading privileges secured by western traders in cities of the Levant in the Middle Ages.⁷⁶ On September 9, 1914, the Powers were notified by the Porte that the capitulations would be abolished after October 1. It is believed that if the German ambassador did not instigate the move, the Porte at least received the encouragement of Germany, although all six powers addressed nearly identical notes to the Turkish government protesting against one party to a treaty declaring it to be void.⁷⁷

The army furnished another means for furthering the designs of Germany. In fact, her first appearance in Turkey was in a military capacity. Field Marshall von der Goltz was employed in Tur

73. *Statesman's Year Book*, 1915, p. 1398.

74. George H. Allen, *The Great War*, p. 313.

75. Earl of Ronaldshay, 5 *P. D.*, XXXIII, p. 631-2.

76. George H. Allen, *The Great War*, p. 313.

77. *The Times History of the War*, Part 28, III, p. 47.

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key from 1882 to 1895, and for years after was vice-president of the military council.⁷⁸ Until 1908, however, efforts to improve the military organization were looked upon as little short of crime. Abdul Hamid distrusted his soldiers, and therefore deprived them of rifle practice and training under actual service conditions. They were even forbidden to drill in large companies, and were kept in barracks under strict supervision.⁷⁹ In the reorganization of 1909, from twenty to thirty German officers arrived in Turkey to assist the Turkish staff,⁸⁰ many of whom had spent years in Germany perfecting themselves in things appertaining to war. Regardless of three years of vigorous reorganizing, the Turkish troops were overwhelmingly defeated in the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913, being opposed by superior artillery, and troops with twenty-seven years of training. The Turks had plenty of men and good fighting qualities, but lacked capable leaders. The army was split into parties and factions, the medical service and commissariat were inadequate, and they had not had enough practice shooting.⁸¹ The elements of the system had been established, but the machine had not yet begun to run well.

In January, 1914, General Liman von Sanders assumed a prominent position in Turkish affairs, becoming marshal of the Ottoman forces, as the two governments had an agreement that German officers in the Turkish service must hold a higher grade therein than that which they possessed in their country's army. German superiority was due not only to the greater number of officials in the Turkish army, but that they were men of diplomatic as well as military ability, and had an immense influence. In 1909 there were five British officers serving under the Turkish government as officers of the gendarmerie or heavy cavalry.⁸² During 1912 and 1913, Turkey twice asked England for a loan of officers for the gendarmerie, for administrators to assist in maintaining order, and for three British subjects to serve with a commission of inspection for

78. H. Charles Woods, "The Reorganized Turkish Army," *Fortnightly Review*, XCVIII, p. 827.

79. Lancelot Lawton, "A German View of the Turkish Defeat," *Fortnightly Review*, XCIX, p. 996.

80. *Statesman's Year Book*, 1914, p. 1381.

81. Lancelot Lawton, "A German View of the Turkish Defeat," *Fortnightly Review*, XCIX, p. 996.

82. Sir E. Grey, 5 *P. D.*, I, p. 1260.

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the ministry of the Interior.⁸⁴ The English government said they would consider the requests, and that was all. England had the same opportunity that Germany had, but passed it by as she had done in other matters. What English officers were in Turkish employ made no effort to use their influence to further interests outside of their particular missions. They were merely officers—cool and reserved.

The reorganization of the Turkish army meant much to Germany industrially, as all the necessary ammunition, stores, armaments and equipment, were bought in Germany.⁸⁵ In spite of this, the German ambassador advised the giving of naval leadership and construction orders to England so the navy would not seem to be German.⁸⁶ This led to the establishment of the British Naval Mission in 1908. At the outbreak of war with Italy, British officers were withdrawn from the Turkish navy, but Germany took no such steps with regard to her officers in the army.⁸⁷

During the months of September and October, 1914, Turkish newspapers were full of England's highhanded proceedings in Egypt, it being announced on October 23, that El Azhar Mosque had been closed. Glorious German and Austrian victories in both the east and west were reported after the German advance had been checked.⁸⁸ The managing director of the Ottoman Telegraph Agency was arrested for having published authentic news given to London and Paris by Reuters' Agency.⁸⁹ Baron Kuhlmann opened a free news bureau of Austrian and German bulletins in Constantinople, where the populace might admire pictures of the Krupp guns and their work. Pictures of Mahomet V. and William II. were displayed, as well as a cartoon showing a British soldier pointing a revolver at a Turk, but declaring it to be empty.⁹⁰ Such devices were taken to keep the Turkish people in ignorance, but the government must have known the true state of affairs through their diplomatic representatives abroad.

84. Mr. Acland, 5 *P. D.*, XLI, p. 367.

85. Valentine Chirol, *The Middle Eastern Question*, p. 187.

86. Robert Crozier Long, "Germany's Mediterranean League," *Fortnightly Review*, XCVI, p. 876.

87. *London Weekly Times*, October 20, 1911.

88. J. Ellis Barker, "Germany and Turkey," *Fortnightly Review*, CII, p. 1009, 11.

89. *London Weekly Times*, September 25, 1914.

90. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1914.

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Throughout the month of October, German gold, arms and officers, were arriving in Turkey. Four big guns with over one thousand tons of war material were sent through the Dardanelles in German merchantmen,⁹¹ and it was rumored that a submarine was sent in parts to be reassembled in Turkey. A munition train of one hundred and fifty trucks was stopped in Roumania,⁹² but more heavy guns later reached their destination. Turkish troops were replaced by Arabs in Thrace, as the Turks were better able to stand the climate of the high plateaus where troops were being stationed.⁹³ More troops were being massed along the Egyptian borders. Spies in German pay swarmed through Egypt, and there was an attempt to smuggle a large quantity of explosives into that country. Meanwhile the Grand Vizier unceasingly assured the British ambassador that only precautionary measures were being taken and no aggression was contemplated.⁹⁴

When the war began, England laid an embargo on the two dreadnaughts being built for Turkey in English dockyards. She wished to make absolutely sure of her position at sea, but assured Turkey that they would be returned to her at the end of the war if she remained neutral.⁹⁵ Within a few days the German warships, "Goeben" and "Breslau," entered the Dardanelles to escape the French and English squadron. Instead of demanding departure or internment, Turkey announced their purchase to replace the two battleships requisitioned by England, but asserted that they would go neither into the Mediterranean nor the Black Sea. They retained their German crews, however, in spite of protests from Great Britain, and clever excuses coupled with solemn promises from the Porte. The Naval Mission was to be allowed to remain in accordance with Turkey's request, if the German crews were sent home as proof of the genuineness of the sale of the warships. This was acceded, but the next day the Mission was replaced in command by Turkish officers; but England still exercised forbearance, and did not recall them until September 8. On October 29, the renamed Ger-

91. Ibid, October 9, 1914.

92. Ibid, October 23, 1914.

93. Ibid, October 9, 1914.

94. J. Ellis Barker, "Germany and Turkey," *Fortnightly Review*, CII, p. 1010.

95. *London Weekly Times*, August 7, 1914.

George H. Allen, *The Great War*.

THE DECLINE OF ENGLISH INFLUENCE IN TURKEY

man cruisers entered the Black Sea and bombarded two Russian ports at the instigation of the German admiral, but doubtless with the knowledge of Enver Bey, the Turkish Minister of War.⁹⁶

Turkey was ruled by the army, which for years has seen things through German military spectacles. It was controlled by the German Marshall Liman von Sanders, and Enver Bey, who was educated in Germany and was known to be a pronounced German sympathizer. He was a powerful member of the Committee of Union and Progress, the chief organization of the Young Turk movement, which also included the Ministers of Marine, Interior and Finance. In point of numbers these four were the minority party of the government, but the majority, including the Sultan and Grand Vizier, was powerless to assert itself, due to the minority having control of the army.⁹⁷ These ministers, as a result of German bribes, were responsible for Turkey's entrance into the war.⁹⁸

If Germany hoped to provoke England and Russia into an attack so as to be able to appeal to Mohammedans, the opposite result was obtained, for British Musselmen realized that the rupture had not been brought about by England. Perhaps Germany induced Turkey to enter the war for diplomatic as well as strategical reasons, hoping that the question of Constantinople would lead to dissension among her enemies. The surprising efficiency of the Turkish army has been an immediate help to the Teutons in that it has diverted British soldiers from the western front for the campaigns at the Dardanelles and in Mesopotamia, as well as holding a Russian army in the Caucasus Mountains.

In spite of her regeneration, Turkey will probably have committed suicide by her entrance into the great war. If the Teutonic powers are vanquished, Turkey will be swept back into Asia; if they are victorious, Turkey will become the vassal and tool of Germany. The end of the war will see the gates to the Black Sea pass into the hands of a strong power,⁹⁹ and the end of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, which statesmen have expected for generations, will be at hand.

96. *The Times History of the War*, Part 28, III, p. 44 to 49.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 53.

98. J. Ellis Barker, "Germany and Turkey," *Fortnightly Review*, CII, p. 1010.

99. Lord Cromer, "The Suicide of the Turk," *Spectator*, CXV, p. 541.

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

NO. IX

ROYAL GOVERNORS AND GOVERNMENT HOUSE

"History should invest with the reality of flesh and blood, beings whom we are too much inclined to consider as personified qualities in an allegory; call up our ancestors before us with all their peculiarities of language, manners, and garb; show us their houses, seat us at their tables, rummage their old-fashioned wardrobes, explain to us the uses of their ponderous furniture."

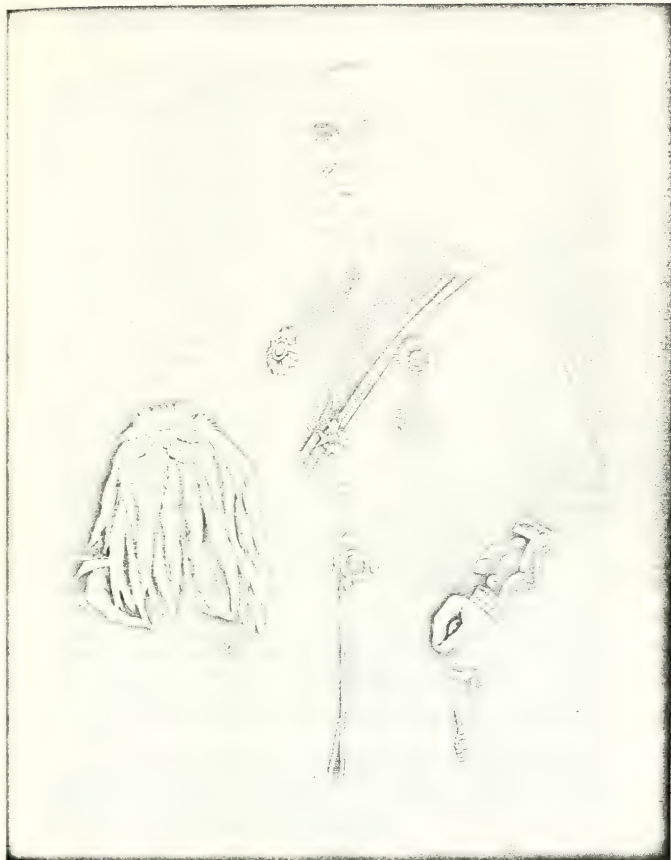
—LORD MACAULAY.

"Macaulay held that history, no less than fiction, should be a lively and vivid picture of the actual, warm, human life of the past. He aimed to give to the narrative of real occurrences, to the portrayal of genuine personages, the same life that fiction bestows on the events and characters of fancy."



N the third chapter of our history we have spoken of the two most historical buildings in Halifax apart from St. Paul's Church, the Province Building and Government House. The frames of three or four, perhaps more, of the earliest buildings of the newly founded town were ordered and brought from Massachusetts, one of the chief of these being the frame of a governor's house. For the first few months after his arrival at Chebucto, Colonel Cornwallis, the governor, kept to his quarters on the ship in which he had sailed from England, but at last, in the early part of October, 1749, the frame having come from Boston, his house was made habitable and the governor set up his simple establishment on shore. This primitive house of the King's representative in the first British province in what is now Canada, in which civil government was established, was a small, low, one-story house, probably like St. Paul's Church constructed of oak and pine.

For eight or nine years only this house was suffered to stand, then in 1758 Colonel Charles Lawrence, the second governor after



GEN. SIR WILLIAM FENWICK WILLIAMS, BART., K. C. B.
Hero of Kars; Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, 1867-1873

CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA

Cornwallis, had the building taken down and a new and much roomier one built. When Lord William Campbell became governor, in 1766, he urged that this house needed a ball-room, and the government added it. Later, at different times, further enlargements or improvements were made in the official dwelling, and the house was used or at least stood until 1800, when the corner stone of the present Government House was laid.

By 1797 this second governor's residence, which like its rude predecessor had been built of wood, and green wood at that, was in such a state of decay that Sir John Wentworth, who had lived in it since his appointment as governor five years before, complained to the Colonial Secretary in England that it was utterly unfit for occupancy, and that his health was suffering so greatly from its bad condition that he had been obliged to remove his household to the lodge he owned on Bedford Basin, six miles out of town. In the course of this year, 1797, an act was passed by the legislature authorizing the erection of a building in which to house properly the legislature in both its branches and the courts of law, and to serve as well for the crown offices, for since 1790 these had all been accommodated in a business building which had been erected and was owned by the Hon. Thomas Cochran, a member of the council, and his brothers James and William,¹ enterprising North of Ireland men who had come to Halifax in the first company of emigrants brought from Ireland, in 1761, by the enterprising Alexander McNutt. This "Cochran Building" stood on Hollis Street, almost immediately opposite the present Province Building, and so on the site of the Post Office. Before the act could be brought into effect, however, Sir John managed to have it repealed, and another act passed carrying out his policy of having a governor's house erected before a Province Building should be undertaken. For the legislature and the courts, therefore, a new lease for ten years was taken of the Cochran building in 1799, and the erection of a Province

1. The Court House having been destroyed by fire, early in May, 1790, the Legislature passed an act empowering a body of commissioners to treat with Messrs. Thomas, James, and William Cochran for the rental of their building on Hollis Street, opposite the present Province Building for the use of the Legislature, the Courts of Law, and the Crown Offices. This building was so occupied, at a rental, we believe, of two hundred dollars a year, from 1790 until 1820, when the new Province Building was completed. See *Akins's Chronicles of Halifax*, pp. 99, 100.

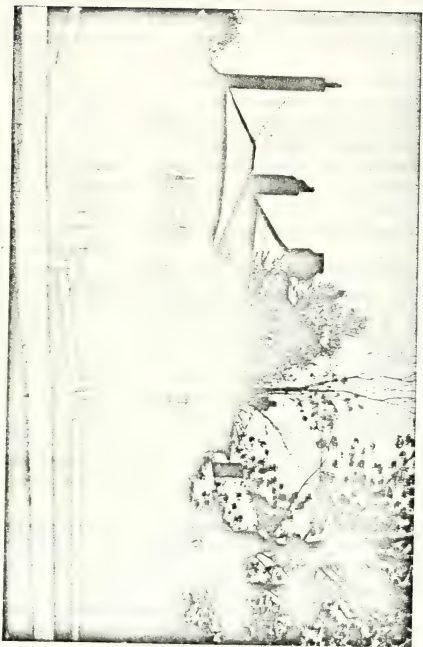
Building remained in abeyance for a little over a decade more.²

The site of the first and second Government Houses was the lot between Hollis and Granville streets on which the Province Building stands, when it was determined to erect a new governor's house there was prolonged discussion as to where this building should be located. A board of commissioners had been appointed to carry the project of a new government house out, and at least three sites were presented for the consideration of these men. In an interesting account of the discussion concerning the proper site and of the final decision to build on the well known spot on Pleasant Street where the now venerable third Government House stands, the Hon. Sir Adams Archibald, one of the most estimable and able of later governors of the province, tells us that Sir John Wentworth urged the site that was chosen and was exceedingly well pleased when a majority of the commissioners came to his view.³

The corner stone of the new building was laid on the eleventh of September, 1800, and a few days afterwards the *Royal Gazette* newspaper described the event. "On Thursday last," says the

2. Dr. Akins (*Halifax*, pp. 213, 214) says of the first Government House: "It was a small, low building of one story, surrounded by hogsheds of gravel and sand, on which small pieces of ordnance were mounted for its defence. It stood in the centre of the square now occupied by the Province Building. About the year 1757 or 1758 this little cottage was removed to give place to a more spacious and convenient residence. It was sold and drawn down to the corner of George Street and Bedford Row, opposite the south-west angle of the City Court House, and again, about 1775, removed to the beach and placed at the corner leading to the steam-boat landing, where it remained until 1832, when the present building, lately occupied by Thomas Laidlaw, was erected on the site." "The new Government House," he continues, "was built during the time of Governor Lawrence. Lord William Campbell built a ball room at one end, and several other improvements were made to the building by subsequent governors. It was surrounded by a terrace neatly sodded and ornamented. The building was of wood, two stories high. The office of Capt. Bulkeley, the Secretary, stood at the north-east angle of the square inside the rails. Prince Edward resided in this house with Governor Wentworth in 1798. This old house was pulled down about the commencement of the present century [the 19th] and the materials sold to Mr. John Trider, Sr., who used them in the construction of the building on the road leading to the tower at the head of Inglis Street, formerly owned by Colonel Bazalgette, and afterwards the residence of the late Mr. George Whidden." The price paid by Mr. Trider for the materials of the old house, Sir Adams Archibald says, was a little over two hundred and sixty-two pounds.

3. Sir Adams Archibald's account of the building of the present Government House will be found in the third volume of Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, pp. 197-208. Sir Adams published also in the same Collections (Vol. 4, pp. 247-258) an account of the Province Building. In both cases this writer has given much information concerning the legislation referring to the erection of the buildings. The Province Building, says Dr. Akins, "was fully completed and finished, ready for the sittings of the Courts and Legislature, in 1820, at the cost of \$52,000." See Akins's account of Halifax in the 8th volume of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society.



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HALIFAX

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Gazette, "this long projected and necessary building was begun under the auspices of His Excellency, Sir John Wentworth, Bart. On this pleasing occasion a procession was formed at the present Mansion House [the old Government House], which preceded by a band of musicians playing 'God Save the King,' 'Rule Britannia,' and other appropriate airs, went to the site prepared for the erection of the edifice, where the corner stone was laid with the customary forms and solemnities, and a parchment containing the following inscription was placed in a cavity cut for that purpose in the centre of the stone: "*Deo Favente.*"

"The corner stone of the Government House, erected at the expense of His Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects of Nova Scotia, pursuant to a grant of the Legislature of the Province, under the direction of Michael Wallace, William Cochran, Andrew Belcher, John Beckwith, and Foster Hutchinson, Esquires, for the residence of His Majesty's Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or person exercising the chief civil authority, was laid September 11th. Anno Domini, 1800, in the 40th year of the reign of His Most Sacred Majesty, George the III."

On this document then follows a list of the great personages who took part in the ceremony,—“Sir John Wentworth, Bart, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief; Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's fleet in North America; Lieutenant-General Henry Bowyer, Commander of His Majesty's forces in Nova Scotia and its dependencies; Col. the Rt. Hon. John Lord Elphinstone, Commanding His Majesty's 26th Regiment of Foot; Col. George Augustus Pollen, Member of the British Parliament, Commanding His Majesty's Fencible Regiment of Loyal Surrey Rangers; the Hon. Sampson Salter Blowers, Chief-Justice of Nova Scotia; the Honourables Alexander Brymer, Thomas Cochran, Charles Morris, John Halliburton, Henry Duncan, Benning Wentworth, and James Brenton, members of the Nova Scotia Council; Mr. Richard John Uniacke, Speaker of the House of Assembly, and the Members of the Assembly then in town; six Captains in the Royal Navy, Officers of the Nova Scotia Militia, the Commissary General, Deputy Judge Advocate General, Solicitor General, Deputy Commissary General, Military Secretary, the Rev.

Robert Stanser, Rector of St. Paul's Church, and other clergymen; the magistrates, and many of the principal inhabitants of the town. Closing this imposing list came the names of Isaac Hildreth, architect, and John Henderson, chief mason of the building.

Immediately after the corner stone was laid the Rector of St. Paul's offered a prayer he had evidently written for the occasion, and then the procession, in which the rules of precedence accepted in the province were duly observed, moved solemnly back to the old Government House, where "a cold collation" was prepared for the august assembly. "From this period," says Sir Adams Archibald, "the building went steadily on. It was made habitable in or about the year 1805, when Sir John moved into it. But it was still unfinished as late as 1807." Of the character of the building, which, outwardly at least, is an exact reproduction of the famous Lansdowne House, London, Sir Adams says: "No better Government House exists in the Dominion, either as to solidity of structure or convenience of arrangement. The architect, Mr. Isaac Hildreth, seems to have been fully entitled to the certificate given him by the Committee of Assembly in January, 1807, when his services in connection with the building were no longer required. They say in their report that they have 'a full conviction of the ability and professional skill of Mr. Hildreth and satisfactory proof of his zeal, integrity, and diligence in the conduct of the work he has been engaged in.' They recommend a grant of money to be given him as a testimonial of the public opinion of his merit and services. On the same day the House ratified the Committee's Report by a Resolution giving the grant recommended, the same to be considered 'as a testimonial of the favourable opinion entertained by the Legislature of his ability, integrity, diligence, and zeal.' " The whole cost of the third Government House was about eighteen thousand dollars.

The architect of Government House, Isaac Hildreth, was almost certainly a Massachusetts man, of the Hildreths of Chelmsford, but apart from his connection with this building we have no knowledge of him. Nor do we know certainly how Lansdowne House, London, came to be chosen as the model for Government House. The famous London mansion of Berkeley Square was built about the middle of

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the 18th century by Robert Adam, and was begun for the first Earl of Bute, at that time Prime Minister. Before it was finished, however, it became the property of John Petty, first Earl of Shelburne, from whom in time it passed to the second Earl, who in 1784 was created Viscount Calne and Calston, Earl of Wycombe, and Marquis of Lansdowne in the peerage of Great Britain. The Marquis of Lansdowne had a stormy political career, which began in 1760 and ended about 1783. Although the most unpopular statesman of his time, for he seems to have treated all political parties with unmeasured contempt, he exercised a strong influence in parliament, and it was probably his persistent refusal until he was forced to do so in 1782 to give his voice for the independence of the American Colonies that gave him such prestige with the Tories in New York that in 1783 they gave their projected town on the southern shore of Nova Scotia the name "Shelburne." This first Marquis of Lansdowne died in 1805.

From the first occupation of this third Government House, in 1805, to the date of Confederation in 1867, says Sir Adams Archibald, "thirteen governors have occupied the house, and of all these men there is scarce one who does not in one way or another tower more or less above the average of the class to which he belongs. Some of them have been statesmen of mark, others successful soldiers, many have performed important duties in other parts of the empire. Four in succession left the governorship of Nova Scotia to become governors general of Canada. As a body they may be classed as able and eminent men." The thirteen of whom Sir Adams speaks as having come between 1800 and 1867 were: Sir John Wentworth, Sir George Prevost, Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir James Kempt, Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sir Colin Campbell, Lord Falkland, Sir John Harvey, Sir Gaspard Le Marchant, the Earl of Mulgrave, Sir Richard MacDonnell, and Sir William Fenwick Williams.

Including Colonel Cornwallis, to the present day Nova Scotia has had thirty-two governors (or "lieutenant-governors," as since 1786 these chief officials have correctly been styled). Before 1786 the representative of royal authority in the province was "governor-in-chief," but in that year a governor-in-chief of all the British Prov-

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inces remaining to the crown in America was appointed, with a residence at Quebec, and under this "Governor-General of Canada," as he was commonly called, the governors of the general province became nominally "lieutenant-governors." Before 1786, however, the governors in chief of the single provinces frequently had their lieutenants, and of such we have in Nova Scotia after the founding of Halifax a list comprising nine.⁴

The list of civil governors of Nova Scotia, of which as we have said there have been to the present (the year 1918) thirty-two, comprises many men who have done the British Empire conspicuous service in various parts of the world and have earned for themselves high reputation. In the following pages we shall give some account of these men and speak of the influence some of them had on Nova Scotia at large, and particularly on the city of Halifax, where they made their temporary homes.

COLONEL THE HON. EDWARD CORNWALLIS, appointed Governor-in-Chief of Nova Scotia on the 9th of May, 1749, was the sixth son of Charles, Baron Cornwallis, and his wife Lady Charlotte Butler, whose father was Richard Earl of Arran.⁵ Colonel Cornwallis was born February 22, 1713, and early placed in the army. He served as major of the 20th regiment in Flanders in 1744 and 1745, and in the latter year was appointed lieutenant-colonel of his regiment. On the death of his brother Stephen he was chosen member of parliament for Eye, and during the session following was made a Groom of H. M. Bedchamber. On the 9th of May, 1749, he became colonel of the 24th regiment, and was gazetted "Governor of Placentia, in Newfoundland, and Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over his Majesty's province of Nova Scotia or Acadia." He sailed from England May 14, 1749, and took the oath as governor, at Halifax, July 14, 1749. His salary as governor was a thousand pounds (the customary salary of the early civil governors of Nova Scotia).

4. These lieutenant-governors, as we shall see later, were: Charles Lawrence, Robert Monckton, Jonathan Belcher, Montague Wilmot, Michael Francklin, Mariot Arbuthnot, Richard Hughes, Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, Edmund Fanning.

5. Colonel Cornwallis was an uncle of Charles Cornwallis, 1st marquis and 2d earl, who from 1776 until the close of the War of the Revolution was in command of British troops in America, and who afterward served as governor-general of India. Col. Edward Cornwallis was twin brother of Frederick Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury.

CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA

On the 12th of July, 1749, almost immediately after the arrival of Cornwallis at Chebucto, Paul Mascarene, then lieutenant-colonel of the 40th regiment, arrived at Chebucto from Annapolis Royal with five members of his council (a quorum). On the 14th of July, Cornwallis formally dismissed Mascarene and his councillors from the offices they had held and appointed a new council. The members of this new council were: Paul Mascarene, Edward How, John Gorham, Benjamin Green, John Salusbury, and Hugh Davidson, the last of whom became the first secretary of the province under civil rule. Of the councillors, Edward How, John Gorham, and Benjamin Green were Boston men.⁶

"In the settlement of the emigrants [he had brought with him for the founding of Halifax]," says a biographer of the first civil governor of Nova Scotia,⁷ "Cornwallis displayed great energy and tact. He had from the start much to contend with. The settlers were soldiers who had fought all over Europe and were accustomed to rough camp and barrack life, and sailors ready for a sea fight but like their brethren in arms utterly unfit for any other line of life. There were also disappointed men of all grades of society, forced by circumstances to face the privations and hardships of a new life, in which few of them were destined to have success. There were good men among them . . . but judging by the record left by Cornwallis, three-fourths of them were as hard a lot as could have been collected and sent away from the old land to starve, drink, and freeze in the cold, inhospitable climate of Nova Scotia. During the founding of the colony, Cornwallis exhibited many sterling qualities necessary to a leader of men. His executive ability, patience, and kindness to all under him, deserved commendation and warranted recognition, but the reverse was the case. No allowance was made by the authorities for the unforeseen expenses of a new settlement. Although given unlimited powers of administration, he was treated with distrust in the matter of expenditures. The

6. See "Governor Cornwallis and the First Council," by Dr. Thomas B. Akins, in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 2; and "Hon. Edward Cornwallis," by James S. Macdonald in the same Collections, vol. 12.

7. This summary of Cornwallis's work in founding Halifax is taken from Mr. James S. Macdonald's sketch of the first civil governor of Nova Scotia in the 12th volume of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society (pp. 9, 10). In some few instances in the quotation we have been obliged to change slightly the writer's English.

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board of trade, frightened at facing parliament with an ever increasing deficit, curtailed his powers, and at several critical times his bills of exchange were returned dishonored, and his credit was ruined in the neighboring colonies of Massachusetts and New York. But though discouraged, he stuck manfully to his post until three years had passed and the introductory work of founding the colony had been accomplished."

COLONEL PEREGRINE THOMAS HOPSON was commissioned captain general and commander-in-chief of Nova Scotia, and also vice-admiral, March 31, 1752. He took the oath as governor on Monday, August 3, 1752, but on the 1st of November, 1753, he sailed for England in the *Torrington*, war-ship, and the command of the province devolved on the lieutenant-governor, Major Charles Lawrence. Col. Hopson was commander-in-chief at Louisburg when that place was restored to the French by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In July, 1749, he came with the forces from Louisburg to Halifax, and at the latter place was sworn in senior councillor, his superior rank in the army entitling him to take precedence of Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Mascarene, who had been the first named of the new council. He left Halifax for England on the first of November, 1753, and we suppose very soon after resigned. After he left Nova Scotia he was in active military service until his death, which took place January 27, 1759.

COLONEL CHARLES LAWRENCE was appointed governor probably on August 12, 1754. The history of this governor will be found very carefully given by Mr. James S. Macdonald in the 12th volume of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society and in the "Dictionary of National Biography." He was commissioned *lieutenant-governor*, probably July 17, 1750, and so acted until his appointment as governor. His administration as governor covered the important period of the fall of Fort Beauséjour and the removal of the Acadians in 1755, and the settlement of New England planters throughout the province, which important movement he did much to stimulate and carry through, in 1760 and 1761. We find a commission as "lieutenant-governor" given him August 12, 1754, and find him taking oath as "lieutenant-governor" October 14, 1754,

but these dates we suppose are the proper dates of his entrance on the *full* governorship of the province.

Lawrence was born at Portsmouth, England, December 14, 1709, and began his military career in England as an ensign in Col. Edward Montague's (afterwards the 11th Devon) Regiment of Foot in 1727. His captaincy in 1742, and his majority in 1747, were obtained, however, in the 54th (Warburton's) Regiment, with which he served under Hopson at Louisburg, until the troops were removed from that fortress to Halifax in 1749. In 1750 and '51 he was engaged at Beaubassin and Chignecto, and in 1752 he went with the German settlers, in command of a small force, to Lunenburg, to assist in founding that town. In 1753, when Hopson went to England, he was given the administration of the government, and the next year, as we have seen, he was appointed lieutenant-governor. In 1756, on the resignation of Hopson he was commissioned governor-in-chief. In 1757 he commanded the reserve in Lord Loudon's expedition, and December 3rd of that year he was promoted to brigadier-general. In 1758 he commanded a brigade at the second siege of Louisburg.

The character of none of the governors or lieutenant-governors of Nova Scotia has been the subject of so much discussion as that of Governor Lawrence. This is due chiefly to the part he played in the tragedy of the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, his connection with this event earning him from many writers on the expulsion the reputation of a bad-tempered, pitiless man. The Nova Scotia historian, Beamish Murdoch, however, only says of him: "He was a man inflexible in his purposes, and held control in no feeble hands. Earnest and resolute, he pursued the object of establishing and confirming British authority here with marked success." To this tribute Mr. James S. Macdonald adds, that among all the governors of Nova Scotia in the 18th century, from the first, Colonel Cornwallis, to the last, Sir John Wentworth, the one who stands "proudly preeminent" "in intellect, courage, and executive ability," is Charles Lawrence. As an administrator of government, says this biographer, he combined all the strong qualities of the others "without a shadow of their weaknesses."⁸

8. Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 12, p. 58.

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As we have shown, Lawrence began to build a new Government House in 1758. On the eleventh of October, 1760, he gave a great ball, probably to celebrate the completion of the house, at which there were over three hundred guests. His Excellency was in high spirits and danced frequently. "During the evening," says Mr. Macdonald, "he drank while heated, a tumbler of iced water." From this "he was seized with cramps in the chest, which developed into inflammation of the lungs and terminated fatally at nine o'clock on Sunday morning, October nineteenth." On the twenty-fifth his funeral took place, "fully four thousand of the army and navy, with four hundred officers, and many citizens" in attendance. From Government House the procession moved in solemn order to St. Paul's Church. First came the troops in garrison, the military officers, two six-pound field pieces, the physicians of Halifax, the clergy of the town, and then the body in a coffin covered with black velvet and draped with a pall to which were affixed escutcheons of his Excellency's arms, the pall-bearers being the whole body of his Majesty's Council. After the body came the mourners, the provost marshal, the House of Assembly, the magistrates, the civil officers, Free-Masons, and many leading citizens. The pall-bearers, clergy, physicians, and all civil and military officers wore black linen or cambric hat bands.

As the corpse neared the church the children from the orphan house sang an anthem. Within, the pulpit, reading-desk, and governor's pew were draped with black, bearing escutcheons. The burial service was conducted by Dr. Breynton, who preached a touching sermon, at the conclusion of which, with the committal service of the Prayer Book the body was lowered into a vault at the right side of the Communion Table. From the time the procession began until the burial was completed minute guns were fired from one of the batteries, the firing ending with three volleys from the troops under arms.⁹ The next Tuesday morning, when the Su-

9. What position the officers and men of the navy occupied in the procession we have not discovered. Governor Lawrence's body was the first interred beneath St. Paul's Church. A monument to him with an elaborate inscription, costing eighty pounds was soon ordered by the legislature from London to be placed in the church. It came out and was affixed to the south-east corner of the church (the first monument placed in the church), but in a violent storm which occurred in 1768, the south-east end of the church was badly damaged, and the monument or tablet had to be taken down.

preme Court assembled, the court-room was draped in black; and in an early issue of the *Royal Gazette* the grief of the community was still further expressed in a fulsome eulogium which read as follows: "Governor Lawrence was possessed of every natural endowment and acquired accomplishment necessary to adorn the most exalted station, and every amiable quality that could promote the sweets of friendship and social intercourse of human life. As Governor he exerted his uncommon abilities with unwearied application, and the most disinterested zeal in projecting and executing every useful design that might render this Province and its rising settlements flourishing and happy. He encouraged the industrious, rewarded the deserving, excited the indolent, protected the oppressed, and relieved the needy. His affability and masterly address endeared him to all ranks of people, and a peculiar greatness of soul made him superior to vanity, envy, avarice, or revenge. In him we have lost the guide and guardian of our interests; the reflection on the good he has done, the anticipation of great things still expected from such merits, are circumstances which, while they redound to his honour, aggravate the sense of our irreparable misfortune."

HENRY ELLIS, Esq., born in England in 1721, who had previously, from 1756 to 1760, been governor of Georgia, was commissioned governor of Nova Scotia in April or May, 1761. When he received his commission he was in England and arrangements were made by the Nova Scotia council to receive him fittingly when he should appear. For some reason, however, he never came to his post, and in his absence, first Chief Justice Belcher, who was commissioned lieutenant-governor April 14, 1761, and then Hon. Colonel Montague Wilmot, who took the oath of office September 26, 1762, administered the government. Ellis continued to hold office, however, until some time in 1763. He died on the shore of the Bay of Naples, January 21, 1806.¹⁰

THE HONOURABLE COLONEL MONTAGUE WILMOT was commissioned

From a shed near by, where it was placed until the church could be repaired, it disappeared and its fate has never been discovered to this day. See "Governor Lawrence," by James S. Macdonald, in Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 12; and the Dictionary of National Biography.

10. See the National Cyclopædia of American Biography, Vol. 1, p. 491.

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governor March 11, 1763, although he probably did not take oath until October 8, 1763. As lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia he had been commissioned January 13, 1762. In the latter office he was succeeded in 1766 by the Hon. Michael Francklin. By a proclamation dated at St. James, October 7, 1763, the islands of St. John and Cape Breton, "with the lesser islands adjacent thereto," were annexed to the government of Nova Scotia.

One matter, at least, of interest to the reader of history, which received much of Governor Wilmot's attention during his governorship, was the question of what to do with the Acadian French that still remained in the Province. In 1764 there were in Nova Scotia, in the counties of Halifax, Hants (then King's), Annapolis, and Cumberland, four hundred and five families of these people, comprising seventeen hundred and sixty-two persons. On the 22d of October of this year a project was reported in the council to settle part of these French in fourteen different places throughout the Province. Writing concerning the matter to the Earl of Halifax, Governor Wilmot says: "These people have been too long misled and devoted to the French King and their religion to be soon weaned from such attachments; and whenever those objects are hung out to them their infatuation runs very high. Some prisoners taken in the course of the war and residing here have much fomented this spirit." The Acadians living in and near Halifax have, he says, "peremptorily refused to take the oath of allegiance." The intention of the Acadians, he continues, was eventually to settle in "the country of the Illinois." The province will be much relieved by their departure, he thinks, for they have always been hostile to British rule.

Governor Wilmot died in office May 23, 1766, and the Hon. Benjamin Green, as president of the council, temporarily administered the government. The governor's remains also were permanently placed in a vault under St. Paul's Church.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD WILLIAM CAMPBELL was commissioned governor of Nova Scotia on the 11th of August, 1766. Lord William, who was the youngest son of the fourth Duke of Argyle, was born probably about 1730, and was early put into the navy,

where in 1762 he attained the rank of captain. Two years later he entered parliament. He married, in 1763, Sarah Izard, daughter of Ralph Izard, Esq., of Charleston, South Carolina. On the 8th of August, 1766, he was commissioned vice-admiral, and on the 11th, as we have said, governor of Nova Scotia. Governor Campbell suffered from ill health and on the 17th of October, 1771, sailed for Boston, probably on his way to South Carolina.¹¹ On the 10th of July, 1772, he returned, much improved in health as he announced to the council, but in February, 1773, he wrote the Secretary of State in England that he wanted another leave of absence from his post, this time for six months, presumably again to recuperate from ill health. He had, he urged in his request, served the then reigning king and his grandfather for twenty-four years. He declares his love for the people of Nova Scotia, and believes he has been of some service to them. He praises the Nova Scotians' constant obedience to his Majesty's commands. In the *London Magazine* for June, 1773, his appointment is gazetted as captain-general and governor-in-chief of the province of South Carolina, in place of Lord Charles Greville Montagu.¹² In the same periodical occurs a notice of the appointment of Francis Legge, Esq., to the governorship of Nova Scotia.

In his documentary history of Nova Scotia, briefly narrating events in the province in the year 1769, Mr. Beamish Murdoch says: "In January, Governor Campbell had daily visits from the Indians, demanding provisions. He attributed their urgent tone to the absence of troops, but as this was an unusually severe winter the weather may have caused their importunity. Major Gorham, who was deputy to Sir William Johnson, the agent for Indian affairs, was absent, and the governor asks Lord Hillsborough for funds to make presents to the Indians, and assist them, in order to keep them quiet." Lord William Campbell died September 5, 1778, from a wound received in a naval engagement.¹³

11. Lady Campbell sailed from England for Charleston, South Carolina, on the 23d of January, 1769, but whether she soon came from Charleston to Halifax or not we do not know.

12. Lord Charles Greville Montagu died in Nova Scotia and was buried under St. Paul's Church, Halifax, in 1784.

13. See the *National Cyclopædia of American Biography*.

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MAJOR FRANCIS LEGGE, who was a relative of the Earl of Dartmouth, was commissioned captain-general and governor-in-chief of Nova Scotia, July 22, 1773, and vice-admiral, July 26, 1773. He was sworn into office as governor October 8, 1773. He has the distinction of having been by far the most unpopular governor Nova Scotia has ever had. He left the province May 12, 1776, but continued to hold office until 1782, during which period the government was administered successively by Lieutenant-Governors Mariot Arbuthnot, Mr. Richard Hughes, and Sir Andrew Snape Hamond.

From October 8, 1773, until May 12, 1776, Major Legge, who as a Nova Scotia writer has said, probably with entire truthfulness, "had been for many years a thorn in the side of his noble kinsman the Earl of Dartmouth and leading members of the ministry of the day," who "had quarrelled and fought with friends and foes in England, and as a last resort was shipped off to Nova Scotia to take charge of this new colony, to get rid of his hated presence at home," was in residence at Halifax. Whatever social events took place at Government House during these three years we may be sure were not gay ones, for Legge was uniformly ill-tempered and jealous, and in his capacity as governor did all he could to cast discredit on men in public life in the province. His official career as governor was stormy in the extreme. He hated Lieutenant-Governor Franklin, who was highly popular and who in public as in private was an excellent man, he insinuated that Richard Bulkeley, the Provincial Secretary, an official of unblemished character and the highest reputation, was dishonest, he accused Hon. Jonathan Binney and Hon. John Newton, members of the council, "of retaining moneys which had been voted them for fees for public duties and services," actually imprisoning Mr. Binney for three months, and in his letters to England he (with much more reason) persistently charged disloyalty to the Crown on a large part of the people generally in the province. So unbearable was his rule that the legislature as a body had finally to appeal to the English government for redress, and the consequence was that Legge was promptly recalled.

On the 12th of May, as we have said, he sailed for England. As he left the beach, near the present Market Wharf, in the launch

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which was to take him to the war-ship, in which he was to sail, hundreds of the citizens of Halifax, were watching there to see him go. "As the boat left the beach, storms of hisses and yells burst from the assemblage. This so infuriated Legge that he stood up in the boat and cursed them most heartily, and the last seen of him he was standing on the deck of the frigate shaking his fists at the amused and delighted Haligonians."¹⁴

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN PARR, who was the last governor in chief of Nova Scotia, was commissioned captain-general and commander-in-chief July 29, 1782, and vice-admiral July 30, 1782. He took the oath of office October 9, 1782. In October, 1786, Lord Dorchester was appointed Governor-General of all the British provinces in America, and on the 5th of April, 1787, the King's commission was read in the Nova Scotia council appointing Parr lieutenant-governor of the province. No period in the history of Nova Scotia is perhaps so important as that which was covered by the administration of Governor Parr. Parr was sworn in governor in October, 1782, and peace with the new American republic was proclaimed on the 30th of November, 1782, and beginning with December of the latter year the Loyalists of New York and other provinces now states of the union came by thousands to Nova Scotia. To give these people grants of land, and while they were making themselves new homes in the province to relieve their immediate necessities, was a laborious task and one needing the greatest sympathy and tact. To his arduous duties at this critical time Parr gave himself with unremitting faithfulness. Throughout the whole of the year 1783, every day found the governor and his council busy arranging for the welfare of the unhappy exiles. Parr's deep solicitude for the Loyalists, says Mr. Macdonald, should never be forgotten by any who have the blood of these people in their veins. He was not a brilliant man, says his biographer, but he was the very man for the time he lived in and the duties he had to perform, "a plain, upright soldier, who prided himself on his attention to duty, and who endeavoured to discharge the obligations of a distinguished

14. This graphic account of Legge's departure is quoted from Mr. James S. Macdonald's memoir of Lieut.-Governor Michael Francklin in the 16th vol. of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, pp. 32, 33.

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position with integrity and honour." During his administration several important settlements were made in the province, notably Shelburne and Parrsborough.

In the summer of 1786 and twice in 1787, Prince William Henry, the "sailor prince" as he was commonly called, who afterward came to the throne as King William the Fourth, visited Halifax and was the recipient of magnificent hospitality and fulsome praise. His first arrival in the town is described by the biographer of Governor Parr as follows: "The Prince landed from the frigate *Pegasus* at the King's Wharf, which was crowded with the numerous officials. Governor Parr was there, with General Campbell and Admiral Byron and the usual number of loyal and devoted admirers, and these gentlemen conducted him up the wharf to Government House, then situated on the spot where the Province Building is at present."

A week later than the Prince's arrival, the new governor general of the British provinces, who previously had been known as Sir Guy Carleton, but lately had been raised to the peerage as Lord Dorchester, with his suite arrived at Halifax from Quebec, and he too was received with delight. Addresses were presented to him, dinners, receptions, and balls were given for him, and a "gay and tireless round of frivolities" was indulged in by the loyal Halifaxians while his lordship remained.

It was during Governor Parr's administration, in the year 1787, that Nova Scotia was created by the King by letters patent an Anglican Colonial See, the Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, previously Rector of Trinity Church, New York, being consecrated as its first diocesan. Shortly after his arrival in his diocese the Bishop was so impressed with the general immorality of Halifax that in taking his seat in council he urged that steps be taken by the government "to erect barriers against the impetuous torrent of vice and irreligion" which threatened to overwhelm the morals of the community, if not the whole province.

Governor Parr was born in Dublin, Ireland, December 20, 1725. He died at Halifax of apoplexy, on Friday, November 25, 1791, and was buried under St. Paul's Church.¹⁵

15. For Governor Parr and the Loyalists, see a highly interesting paper by Mr. James S. Macdonald in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 14. For Hon. Richard Bulkeley see a paper by the same writer in the Collections, Vol. 12.

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOHN WENTWORTH, BARONET, (who did not, however, receive his title until 1795) was commissioned governor of Nova Scotia, January 13, 1792. He arrived first in Halifax from England, after the Revolution, on the 20th of September, 1783, in the capacity in which he had long acted while governor of New Hampshire, as surveyor general of the King's woods. In the same ship, with him came also Mr. Edmund Fanning, who immediately afterward entered on the duties of lieutenant-governor to Governor Parr. The exact date of the arrival of these officials we have learned from a private letter from the Rev. Dr. Mather Byles, Jr., a fellow Loyalist refugee of Mr. Wentworth, who had come to Halifax in 1776. Commissioned governor, Mr. Wentworth arrived again from England in H. M. frigate *Hussar*, commanded by Captain Rupert George, after a five weeks' voyage from Falmouth, England, on the 12th of May, 1792. On the 14th, at one o'clock in the afternoon he took the oath of office. Sir John resigned the governorship early in 1808, and from June 1, 1808, until his death on April 8, 1820, he enjoyed an annual pension from the government of five hundred pounds. For about half the period of his governorship, Sir John lived at the second built Government House, but some time in 1797, it would seem, he felt the house to be unfit to live in and removed his household temporarily to his lodge on Bedford Basin, probably staying there for a time with the Duke of Kent.¹⁶ Later the official residence in town must have been somewhat repaired, for the governor continued for some time longer to entertain there. In this house also, on the 16th of August, 1797, occurred the death of Lady Wentworth's first cousin, Charles Thomas, a young lieutenant in the Duke of Kent's regiment, who was accidentally shot by a brother officer in a road-house a few miles from the town.

On the 18th of November, 1799, Sir John wrote Robert Liston, Esq., the British ambassador to the United States that the Duke of Orleans and his two brothers, the Duke de Montpensier and Count Beaujolais, had arrived at Halifax, in H. M. Ship *Porcupine*, from

16. Dr. Akins says that Prince Edward resided at Government House with Sir John Wentworth in 1798, but since Sir John considered the house not fit to live in in 1797, and since the Prince had earlier become fully installed at the lodge, this seems very unlikely. That the two did live together about this time at the lodge seems almost a certainty. In 1798, however, Lady Wentworth was in England.

New Providence, where they had been waiting in vain for some time to get passage to England. No chance for such passage having presented itself they had come to Nova Scotia, where they hoped to find a ship. Being unsuccessful here also they had gone on to New York in the *Lord Duncan*, a merchant ship, hoping to be able to sail from there. "They do not ostensibly," says Sir John, "assume their rank; visited H. R. H. the Duke of Kent and myself and Admiral Vandeput. The visits were returned, and they have dined with H. R. H. at Government House on the public dinner days. The surplus of cash brought with them they invested in bills of exchange from the paymaster general of the army, upon the treasury, to be remitted to London. I learn they brought about 10,000 dollars. It seems to be their intention to proceed to Spain, to meet their mother, as soon as possible. In all their deportment here they have been entirely discreet. This is the general statement, except that they were also at a public ball at the Government House, and yesterday dined with me. Friday they are to dine with the Duke of Kent. As these prisoners [*sic*] are of such high connection I thought it would not be unacceptable to you to be informed of their progress through this place."

"P. S. 8 o'clock, P. M. Since the preceding, H. R. H. the Duke of Kent has given the Duke of Orleans a letter of instruction to the Duke of Portland, of which it may be acceptable to you to be as above confidentially informed."

The Duke of Orleans, Mr. Murdoch, who prints this letter in his "History of Nova Scotia," explains "was the prince who afterwards governed in France as King Louis Philippe. It is said that he lodged while in Halifax with a Mrs. Meagher, a Frenchwoman, [*sic*] and attended service in the small chapel (R. C.) in Pleasant Street, and sat in the pew of L. Doyle, Esq."

In September, 1804, Halifax had a visitor in the person of Tom Moore, the Irish poet. Moore had lately been in Bermuda, where he had for a short time, it is said, occupied the post of registrar of the court of vice-admiralty. This position he found did not pay him a sufficient salary and he left it, but before returning to England he determined to see something more of the world. Accordingly he made a tour of the United States and Canada, and from Quebec

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came to Halifax, the voyage occupying thirteen days. He sailed from Halifax for England in the frigate *Boston*, commanded by Captain Douglas.

"On the evening of Saturday, April 8," [1820] says Mr. Murdoch, "Sir John Wentworth died at Halifax, at his apartments in Hollis Street. He was in his 84th year. His latter days were spent in solitude and retirement. On the day before his departure the city was excited with the joyful ceremonial attendant on the elevation of the Prince of Wales to the sovereignty of this great empire in his own right, mingled with the respect due a monarch who had for near sixty years presided with moral dignity and conscientious earnestness over the government and interests of our nation. To an eminent loyalist like Wentworth, who through chequered scenes of prosperity and adversity had been the trusted and honored servant of the crown from an early period of this long reign, if he were then conscious of what was passing around him, the reflections he would make on the dropping of the curtain on royalty, on the unlooked for loss of Prince Edward, so long his intimate friend, and on the exit of his venerated master from all sublunary suffering, must have been exceedingly affecting. Sir John proved the sincerity of his professions of strong attachment to Nova Scotia by voluntarily spending his last days here. His baronetcy devolved upon his son, Sir Charles Mary Wentworth, who resided in England, but on the latter's death without issue the title became extinct."¹⁷

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR GEORGE PREVOST, BARONET, succeeded Governor Wentworth as the chief executive of the Nova Scotia government. His commission bears date January 15, 1808. On the 7th of April he reached Halifax, and on the 13th was sworn into office. He continued governor until 1811, when he was commissioned Governor-in-Chief of all the British provinces in America. He left Halifax for Quebec on the 25th of August, 1811, Alexander Croke,

¹⁷. See Dictionary of National Biography; "Early Life of Sir John Wentworth," and "A Chapter in the Life of Sir John Wentworth" (both yet in manuscript in the archives of the Nova Scotia Historical Society) by Hon. Sir Adams Archibald, K. C. M. G.; The Wentworth Genealogy; and Chapter IV of this history.

LL.D., judge of vice-admiralty, being appointed to administer the government for a short time.

An event of much importance in the time of Sir George Prevost was the laying of the corner stone of the Province Building in 1811. On Monday, the twelfth of August of that year, which happened to be the birthday of George the Fourth, then regent of the empire of Britain, at three o'clock in the afternoon the Lieutenant-Governor, attended by Rear-Admiral Sawyer, Major-General Balfour, Commissioner Inglefield, and the different officers of the Staff, with several Captains of the Navy, and others, was received at the eastern gate of the inclosure by the Grenadiers and Light Infantry companies of the 2d battalion of militia, under command of Captain Liddell, and the Rifle company of the 8th battalion, commanded by Captain Albro, with arms presented, the band playing "God Save the King." Here the Governor and his party were met by the commissioners for superintending the erection of the building, who conducted them to a *marquéé*, where they were received by Quartermaster General Pyke, Grand Master of the Free and Accepted Order of Masons, and other officers and members of the Grand Lodge, and given refreshments. Then the Rev. Benjamin Gerrish Gray, Grand Chaplain of the Lodge, offered a prayer, and the Lieutenant-Governor performed the great ceremony of the day. The architect of the building was Mr. Richard Scott. "The ceremony was honoured," says the *Royal Gazette* newspaper, describing the function, "by the presence of a considerable number of ladies, who were provided with seats erected for their accommodation. The windows of the different houses round the square were also occupied by the fair daughters of Acadia—the whole forming a *coup d'oeil* of taste, beauty, and accomplishment that would do honour to any part of His Majesty's Dominions; and notwithstanding there was a larger concourse of people assembled than we have almost ever before witnessed in this town, and the different sheds, etc., were crowded with spectators, we are happy to announce that not any accident took place, nor any one sustained the least injury."

A notable day, indeed, was this, in the governorship of Sir George Prevost. In honour of the birthday of the heir to the throne and regent of the Kingdom, from early morning flags floated from the

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ships in the harbour and the ports and chief buildings in and about the town. At noon the troops were reviewed by his Excellency on the Common, and three salutes of seven guns each, "intercalated by a like series of *feux de joie*, echoed to the sky." "Then came the usual speech approving of the excellent performance by the troops and militia, after this a royal salute from the ships of war; then Sir George went back to Government House to receive and shake hands with all Halifax at a *levée* held in honour of the day." It was "a heavy day" for the representative of his Majesty, says Sir Adams Archibald, "the address, the dinner, the answer to the address and the speech to the toast, the roar of artillery in the morning, *feux de joie*, the salutes from the ships, the Volunteer Artillery's salute—to say nothing of the refreshments, which seem to have been rather profuse—must have sent him to bed tired enough to make him almost forget that he was emerging from the chrysalis of Nova Scotia to take wings for a higher sphere" as governor general of all the British provinces.

Sir George Prevost was born May 19, 1767, and died in London January 5, 1816. His popularity in Nova Scotia was very great.¹⁸

GENERAL SIR JOHN COAPE SHERBROOKE, G. C. B., was commissioned lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, August 19, 1811, and sworn in October 16, 1811. On the 29th of January, 1816, he like his predecessor was commissioned governor in chief of all the British provinces, but it seems to have been several months before he took his departure for Quebec. On the 28th of June, 1816, Major-General George Stracey Smyth was sworn in administrator of the Nova Scotia government until a new executive head could be appointed. Sir John Coape Sherbrooke died in England February 14, 1830.^{18½}

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GEORGE RAMSAY, NINTH EARL OF DALHOUSIE, was commissioned for the government of Nova Scotia, July 20, 1816. He reached Halifax in H. M. ship *Forth*, from England, on the 24th of October, 1816, and the same day took the oath of office. In 1819,

18. See Dictionary of National Biography; and "Sir George Prevost" (an unpublished paper in the archives of the Nova Scotia Historical Society), by James S. Macdonald.

18½. See Dictionary of National Biography.

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he too was commissioned governor in chief of the Canadas and the other provinces, in succession to the Duke of Richmond, and probably in October of that year he went from Halifax to Quebec. The Earl was born in 1770, and succeeded his father in the peerage of Scotland in 1787. He was created Baron Dalhousie in the peerage of the United Kingdom, August 11, 1815. Lord Dalhousie was governor in chief of Canada from 1819 to 1828, and commander in chief in the East Indies from 1829 to 1832. He died March 21, 1838.

The Earl of Dalhousie's governorship of Nova Scotia lasted but three years, but these years were full of intelligent activity on the part of this accomplished, energetic, high-minded man. Of Lord Dalhousie the Honourable Joseph Howe, himself a later governor, has written: "The Earl was a square-built, good-looking man, with hair rather gray when I last saw him. He took great interest in agriculture and was the patron of 'Agricola,' whose letters appeared in the *Recorder* when I was in the printing office. His Lordship's example set all the Councillors and officials and fashionables mad about farming and political economy. They went to ploughing-matches, got up fairs, made composts, and bought cattle and pigs. Every fellow who wanted an office, or wished to get an invitation to Government House, read Sir John Sinclair, talked of Adam Smith, bought a south-down, or hired an acre of land and planted mangel wurtzels.

"The secret about 'Agricola's' letters had been well kept and the mystery became very mysterious. At last the authorship was announced, and it was then discovered that a stout Scotchman, who kept a small grocer's shop in Water street and whom nobody knew or had met in 'good society' was the great unknown. Ovations were got up under the patronage of the Earl, and the Judges and leading merchants and lawyers came forward and fraternized with the stout Scotchman, who being a man of good education and fine powers of mind was soon discovered to speak with as much ease and fluency as he wrote. All this was marvellous in the eyes of that generation. But no two governors think alike or patronize the same things, when Sir James Kempt came he had a passion for road-making and pretty women, and the agricultural mania died away. Agricola was voted a bore—a fat Scotchman—and his family decidedly vulgar, and the

heifers about Government House attracted more attention than the Durham cows. The agricultural societies tumbled to pieces, and although spasmodic efforts were made from time to time by some members of Mr. Young's family, agriculture did not become fashionable in my day till Sir Gaspard Le Marchant in 1854 began to talk to everybody about Shanghai chickens and Alderney cows. Then a good deal of money was spent. The old breeds of cows, which wanted nothing but care and judicious crossing to make them as good as any in the world, were reduced in size that the cream might be made richer, which it never was, and the chickens were made twice the size, with the additional recommendation that they were twice as tough. Sir Gaspard brought his crochets direct from Court, for Prince Albert was a great breeder, and the Queen and everybody else went mad about poultry for a summer or two."¹⁹

Not only agriculture but higher education in the province deeply interested the Earl of Dalhousie. When he came as governor, Nova Scotia had but one college, which was all the province then needed, or indeed ought ever since to have had, the college known as King's, situated at Windsor in the county of Hants. Unfortunately, however, this college, established and always conducted under Anglican Church control, had at the start burdened itself with bigoted denominational statutes which made it impossible for young men of other churches than the Anglican to receive an education within its doors. Lord Dalhousie was soon properly roused to indignation at this state of things and determined to do something to remedy it. Through his efforts and influence Dalhousie College was founded, a college "for the instruction of youth in the higher classics and in

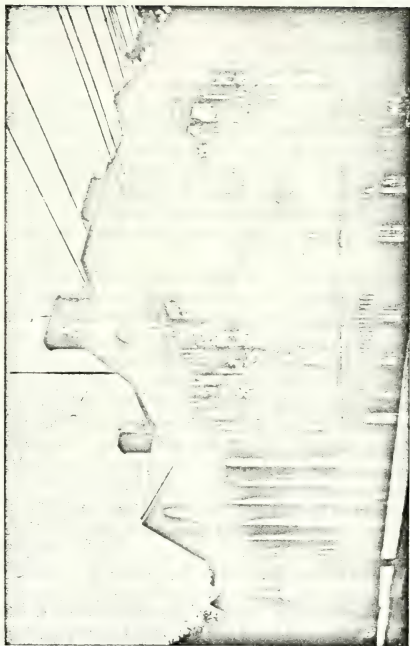
19. This sketch, by Hon. Joseph Howe, is printed in the 17th volume of *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* (pp. 197, 198). The general title of the article from which it is taken is entitled "Notes on Several Governors and their Influence." Mr. John Young's "Letters of Agricola," printed first in the *Acadian Recorder* between July 25 and December 26, 1818, were designed to stimulate and did stimulate intelligent activity in agriculture throughout the province. They appeared anonymously and their anonymity much increased the public interest in them. In consequence of suggestions they contained, agricultural societies were quickly organized in various places, ploughing matches were held, and there was a general awakening of interest in improved methods of farming. By March, 1819, Mr. Young had avowed the authorship of the letters and had become secretary of a Provincial Agricultural Society, in support of which the legislature gave a subsidy of fifteen hundred pounds. Mr. John Young, as is well known, was father of Hon. Sir William Young, Kt., the eighth chief justice of Nova Scotia. See a paper in the archives of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, by John Ervin, entitled "John Young (Agricola) the Junius of Nova Scotia."

all philosophical studies," whose doors should be open to all who professed the Christian religion, especially those who were narrowly "excluded from Windsor." With great formality the Earl laid the corner stone of the building of this non-sectarian college on Monday, the 22d of May, 1820, the Countess giving a ball and supper to a large company on the same evening. Nine days later his lordship received a farewell address from the people of Halifax and took his departure also for the chief governorship of the provinces at large.²⁰

Nothing, writes the Hon. Joseph Howe, could be more "correct and refining" than the tone given to Halifax society by Lady Dalhousie. Without being handsome, and dressing with marked plainness, she charmed people with the elegant simplicity of her manners and with her gracious desire to please.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JAMES KEMPT, G. C. B., was appointed by the regent, afterwards George the Fourth, to the lieutenant-governorship of Nova Scotia, October 20, 1819. He reached Halifax, with his suite, however, not until June 1, 1820, his inauguration taking place the next day after his arrival. From July 10, 1828, to November 24, 1830, he also served in the higher position of governor general of the British provinces, his successor in Nova Scotia being Sir Peregrine Maitland. Of Halifax social life during Kempt's administration of the Nova Scotia government, from 1820 to 1828, and the governor's part in it, Mr. Peter Lynch has given us some graphic pictures. "Winter, notwithstanding its severity," says Mr. Lynch, "was a merry time. And although the winds were laden with frost they did not prevent the sun shining brilliantly by day and the stars sparkling brilliantly by night. A heavy fall of snow was soon beaten down by the innumerable sleighs which traversed it, and a number of good hostels at a convenient driving distance from the town afforded the certainty of a good dinner. If at times the days were dark and dreary they could always be made bright and cheerful by the merry music of the sleigh bells, and I have no hesitation in saying that while then the population was not more

20. See Dictionary of National Biography; and a paper, still unpublished in the archives of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, by Professor Archibald MacMechan, entitled "Lord Dalhousie."



PROVINCIAL BUILDINGS, HALIFAX

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than half as numerous as it is at present, yet there were twice the number of horses and vehicles.

"The Tandem Club, one of the institutions of Halifax, was a splendid sight. It numbered in its ranks the *élite* of the community, the Governor and all the officials, the General, his staff, and a large proportion of the officers in the garrison, and many of our wealthy citizens, who all made a grand display during their field days. . . . At the head of the Club rode the captain of the day, always with a six-in-hand. After him came the Governor, with a fine team of four horses, and *asprés lui le deluge*, four-in-hands and tandems without number, all forming a continuous line of splendid horses, handsome sleighs, and gaily dressed people, from South Street to the Provincial Building, all entranced by the many notes of the mellow horn and the continued shouting of the crowds which lined the street on either side.

"Immediately opposite the east side of the Provincial Building was a very large house then occupied by Miller (a famous host), who kept the best hotel in the town. There the party all brought up in several ranks, although wedged in as close as possible filling the whole space between Prince and Sackville streets. At once the hotel doors were thrown open and the servants of the house, together with those of the several messes, and others, streamed forth in their gay liveries, bearing trays laden with cakes, confections, and steaming hot negus, then the favorite beverage. After these refreshments were partaken of, the whole party in order swept along the streets on their way to Fultz's Twelve Mile House, where about three o'clock, then the fashionable dinner hour, the party sat down to as good a dinner as could be had anywhere, in the Province or perhaps out of it."

The Sundays in Halifax in Sir James Kempt's time, Mr. Lynch says, "could scarcely be called holy days," for except in two small churches, one a Methodist, the other a Baptist, few people were found worshipping after the service of the forenoon. "The bells rang out their invitations, and the doors of the churches stood open in the afternoons, but few entered their precincts. It was the almost universal custom for gentlemen to visit from house to house after the morning service. Wine and cake were set out on the

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tables as now on New Year's Day (though not with the same profusion), and the time was spent until the hour for dinner in discussing the gossip of the day, and possibly sometimes in the exchange of bits of scandal.

"After dinner, when the weather permitted it, the community streamed out to the Common, to see a review of the troops. There the great and the little were found in their holiday attire, the wealthy in their carriages, the poorer on foot. At the west side of the Common, somewhere near where the old race-course ran, the Royal Standard flaunted its gay folds, and here gathered the fashionable and rich of the town, for at this point the Governor, who was then a general, and his staff, were to take their places when they should come. At about half past four his Excellency and suite, their gay plumes waving in the air, and their bright uniforms flashing, made their appearance and galloping down to the stand took their position. The several bands played the National Anthem, and the business of the review proceeded. A march round at slow step with a salute, and another at quick step without it, and the review was over and the Common in a brief space of time restored to the quiet which had pervaded it some two hours before.

"But the business or rather the pleasure of the day was not yet over. In Hollis street, in one of the stone houses to the south of Government House, lived a colonel of one of the regiments in garrison, I think Colonel Creigh, and opposite him another military man, I think a Cochran, and thither, at about dusk, came one of the regimental bands. From that time until perhaps ten o'clock the band played dance and other secular music, to an admiring audience, comprising some of the better element of the town, but consisting chiefly of the great unwashed, who made the Sabbath night hideous with their coarse jests and noisy conduct. It was a sad termination to the sacred day which the Great Lawgiver had commanded us to remember to keep holy."

In the course of Sir James Kempt's administration, the governor of Nova Scotia whom Sir James had immediately followed, the Earl of Dalhousie, now governor-general of Canada and the other provinces, came to Halifax on a visit. He reached Halifax from Quebec in the government brig *Chebucto*, Captain Cunard, on Thursday,

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the 3rd of July, 1823, after a voyage lasting eleven days. That night, late, he landed at the town with his aides, Captain W. Hay and Lieutenant Maule, accompanied also by Lieut-Col. Durnford, R. E., and Captain Parker, A. D., quartermaster-general. On Saturday he held a *levée* at Government House, at one o'clock, and the next Tuesday he received an address from the magistrates and other inhabitants, which was presented by Sheriff Jared Ingersoll Chipman.

Shortly after this he went with Sir James Kempt to visit Windsor, Horton, and Cornwallis. On Wednesday the 23rd he was entertained at a "public banquet" at Mason's Hall, in the town, the Hon. Richard John Uniacke presiding, and the Governor and his suite, Rear Admiral Fahie, the captains of the navy, field officers of the army, the staff of the garrison, the members of council, the magistrates, and many others being guests. At least forty toasts were given at the banquet by the chair, the band of the 81st, Sir James Kempt's regiment, playing appropriate airs after each. The Earl left at half past twelve, "but," says Mr. Murdoch significantly, "the president and company continued till a later or more exactly speaking an earlier hour."

The next evening the Earl was given a public ball at the Province Building, the council chamber being used for dancing, and the assembly room for the supper. "All the taste and fashion of the town were displayed on this occasion, and no expense was spared in rendering it a treat well worthy the acceptance of a peer of the realm." "It was asserted," says Mr. Murdoch, "that of all the *fêtes* ever got up in Halifax this ball to the Earl was the most brilliant, in the beauty of decoration, the sumptuousness of entertainment, and the taste that reigned over all. The council room was illuminated with a profusion of lamps and chandeliers. Sofas were placed all round the sides of the apartment, the elegant proportions and loftiness of the chamber being in reality its greatest ornament. A military band was stationed in an elevated orchestra, placed over the central doors. The Earl opened the ball with Admiral Fahie's lady, a young bride, who had just come on with her husband in H. M. S. *Salisbury* from Bermuda. At midnight the supper began, Mr. Wallace presiding and giving toasts, and the dances were re-

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newed afterwards." On the 28th of July the Earl left town, on his way once more to Quebec.

Sir James Kempt was born at Edinburgh, in 1764, became captain of the 113th Foot and as such served in Ireland and in Holland, and was commissioned a lieutenant-colonel in 1799. He was at one time in service in the Spanish Peninsula. In 1813 he was colonel-commandant of the 60th Foot, and at Waterloo was severely wounded. He was made a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath, and was also invested with several foreign orders. The 27th of May, 1825, he was commissioned lieutenant-general, and in 1841 was promoted general. At one time he was master general of the ordnance. He died in London, December 20, 1854.²¹

GENERAL SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND, G. C. B., was commissioned Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia some time in 1828. He was born in Hampshire, England, in 1777, and died in London, May 30, 1854. He entered the army in 1792, served in Flanders and in Spain, and was at Waterloo, in command of the First British Brigade. On June 22, 1815, for his services at Waterloo he was made a K. C. B. His wife, Lady Sarah, was a daughter of the Duke of Richmond, her mother being the Duchess of Richmond who gave the famous ball at Brussels on the eve of the battle of Waterloo. In 1818 the Duke of Richmond was governor-general of all the British provinces in America, and in that year Sir Peregrine Maitland was made lieutenant-governor of Quebec. The exact date of his commission as governor of Nova Scotia we do not know, but he served in this capacity from 1828 until probably some time in 1833. While he was in Halifax, on Sunday, April 8, 1832, Lady Sarah gave birth to a daughter.

From December, 1843, until September, 1846, Sir Peregrine was governor and commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope. In 1846 he was promoted general, and in 1852 was made a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath.²²

Writing of the change in the tone of social life in Halifax when Sir James Kempt left and Sir Peregrine Maitland came, Mr. Peter

21. See Dictionary of National Biography.

22. See Dictionary of National Biography.

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Lynch writes: "The advent to the province of the new governor and his wife, Sir Peregrine and Lady Sarah Maitland, the latter a Lennox and daughter of the then Duke of Richmond, I am happy to say put an end to these unseemly orgies [secular entertainments on Sunday, etc.]. These two excellent people, from their consistent walk together, with their high rank, at once produced a change in the tone of society, and the perfume of their sweet lives permeated all classes of the people. They professed much, and rigidly practised it. Their garments smelt of myrrh, aloes, and cassia, and while those immediately about them were constrained by their holy lives to follow their example, their influence went through all ranks of the town. As Caligula 'found Rome of brick and left it of marble,' so these good people, who found here much of riot, dissipation, and disorder, after their period of abode amongst us left the community in a very much improved condition. The good seed they sowed yielded much healthy fruit, and I have no doubt its influence has lasted to the present day."

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR COLIN CAMPBELL, K. C. B., who has often been confused with Sir Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde (born at Glasgow, Scotland, October 16, 1792), was commissioned lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia some time in 1833, and left the province probably in 1840. He was the fifth son of John Campbell of Melfort, and his wife Colina, daughter of John Campbell of Auchalader, and was born in 1776. He had a brother, Admiral Sir Patrick Campbell. In 1792, at the age of sixteen, he became a midshipman on board an East Indiaman, but in February, 1795, he entered the army as lieutenant in the 3rd battalion of the Breadalbane Fencibles, then commanded by his uncle. He served with great ability in India, and later under the Duke of Wellington on the continent. With the great duke he had a warm friendship and to this famous general owed much of his distinction. He became lieutenant-colonel of the 65th regiment in 1818, and major-general in 1825. From 1839 to 1847 he was governor of Ceylon. He died in England, June 13, 1847, and was buried in the church of St. James, Piccadilly.²³

"On Tuesday, the first of July, 1834," says *Occasional* in the

23. See Dictionary of National Biography.

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Acadian Recorder, "Major-General Sir Colin Campbell, K. C. B., arrived in Halifax as Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. For eighteen months Thomas Jeffery, President of the Council, had been Administrator of the Government during the absence of Governor Maitland in England. Previous to the arrival of Governor Campbell, the President sent a message to the House of Assembly, which had just met, with an extract of a dispatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, expressing His Majesty's readiness to place the casual and territorial revenue at the disposal of the Provincial Legislature, on their agreeing to make a permanent provision for the public servants, whose salaries had been hitherto paid from the funds, which it was proposed to surrender. A series of resolutions, embodying a scale of salaries, were introduced by the Solicitor General, which excited general indignation as being utterly disproportionate to the extent and financial circumstances of the Province.

"And now was the first shot fired in the direction of decided responsible government. Mr. Alex. Stewart, who afterwards was to be the champion of the autocratic council, made a vigorous attack on its constitution, moving three resolutions, having for their object to open the doors of the council."²⁴

SIR LUCIUS BENTINCK CARY, VISCOUNT FALKLAND, P. C., G. C. H., was commissioned for Nova Scotia some time in 1840, and remained governor until 1846. Lord Falkland was returned heir to his father, the ninth Viscount Falkland (in the peerage of Scotland) March 2, 1809. He married, first, Lady Amelia Fitz-Clarence, sister of the Earl of Munster, one of the natural children of King William the Fourth, and this lady was with him in Halifax. His second wife was Elizabeth Catherine, dowager duchess of St. Alban's. He was created an English peer May 15, 1832. From 1848 to 1853, Viscount Falkland was governor of Bombay.

In the second year of Lord Falkland's governorship, the year 1841, his royal highness, the Prince de Joinville, son of King Louis Philippe of France, made Halifax a short visit, and on Tuesday, September 14th, was honoured by General Sir Jeremiah Dickson and

24. *Acadian Recorder* for January 29, 1916.

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the officers of the staff and garrison with a brilliant ball in the Province Building. "Having obtained permission from the proper authorities for the use of the legislative halls," says *Occasional in the Acadian Recorder*,²⁵ "a party of engineers and workmen were turned in, and, in an incomparably short space of time, the obstructive fixtures were removed, the whole interior was purified, staircases and passages were lined with banners, and bayonets were formed into candelabra and other ornaments.

"About half-past nine the company began to assemble, and were received by the General. Besides His Royal Highness, and suite, and the officers of the French warships *Belle Poule* and *Casaud*, His Excellency, the Lieutenant-Governor and Lady Falkland, Mr. Stuart, *chargé d'affaires* to Colombia, and lady; Commodore Douglas, Captain Leith, and the officers of the *Winchester* and *Seringapatam*, with the chief officers of the Provincial government, the Mayor, etc., were among the guests. Dancing was kept up with much spirit in the Council Chamber until after midnight, when the doors of the Assembly were thrown open, and the whole company, to the number of four hundred, sat down to a substantial and elegant supper, prepared by Coblenz.

"From a cross table, or dais, slightly raised, at the head of the room, other tables extended the whole length, covered with every delicacy. The gallery was occupied by the band, and non-commissioned officers and their families. The company having done justice to the good fare, the health of Her Majesty, of King Louis Philippe, and of His Royal Highness, the guest of the night, were given; after which the Prince gave 'Lady Falkland and Ladies of Halifax.' Dancing was then resumed and kept up till a late hour—the Prince retiring about two o'clock."

SIR JOHN HARVEY, K. C. B., was commissioned lieutenant-governor in 1846. He was born in 1778, and entered the army in the 80th regiment. He was in service in Holland, in France, at the Cape of Good Hope, in Ceylon, and in Egypt. In 1812 he was appointed deputy adjutant-general to the army in Canada, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington in his

25. *Acadian Recorder* for April 15, 1916.

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Richard Macdonnell, D. D., Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and was born in Dublin in 1814. Graduating at Trinity, he was called to the Irish bar in 1838 and to the English bar in 1840. In 1843 he was appointed chief justice of the Gambia, and in 1847 governor of the British settlements on the Gambia. After this, for a long time he was engaged in exploring the interior of Africa. In 1852 he was governor of St. Vincent and captain-general, and in 1855 governor-in-chief of South Australia, where also he made valuable explorations. From October 19, 1865, until 1872, he was governor of Hong Kong. Sir Richard was made K. C. M. G. in 1871.²⁸

GENERAL SIR WILLIAM FENWICK WILLIAMS, BART., K. C. B., commissioned lieutenant-governor October 20, 1865, was the first native born governor the province had. He was born at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, December 4, 1800, and should probably be regarded as the most illustrious of Nova Scotia's sons. At an early age, through the interest of the Duke of Kent, he was placed in the Royal Academy at Woolwich. Entering the army he attained the rank of captain in 1840, and at the Crimea earned for himself undying fame in British annals as "the hero of Kars." One of the gallant defenders of that town during its four months siege by Mouravieff, General Williams on the 29th of September, 1855, gave the besiegers battle, and after a fierce conflict of eight hours duration defeated a force much larger than his own on the heights above Kars. The town, however, fell, and General Williams was taken a prisoner, first to Moscow, then to St. Petersburg. Almost immediately afterward he was created a baronet. In 1858 he was commander-in-chief of the forces in British North America. He administered the government of the British provinces in America from October 12, 1860, until January 22, 1861. He administered the Nova Scotia government until October, 1867. He died, unmarried, in London, July 26, 1883, and was buried at Brompton cemetery four days later.²⁹

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES HASTINGS DOYLE, K. C. M. G., was

28. See Dictionary of National Biography.

29. See Dictionary of National Biography; and "Ancestry of the late Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars," a pamphlet by Hon. Judge A. W. Savary, D. C. L., of Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia.

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commissioned lieutenant-governor October 18, 1867. He was the eldest son of Sir Charles William Doyle, C. B., G. C. H., and his wife Sophia, daughter of Sir John Coghill, and was born in 1805. He was educated at Sandhurst, and entered the army as an ensign in the 87th, his great-uncle Sir John Doyle's regiment. He saw service in the Orient, the West Indies, Canada, and Ireland. During the American Civil War he commanded the troops in British North America, and in the famous Chesapeake affair showed great tact. In May, 1868, he was appointed colonel of the 70th regiment, and in 1869 was made a K. C. M. G. He continued lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia until 1873, Sir Edward Kenny, however, as president of the council, administering the government in his absence from May 13, 1870, until the end of his term of office. After other service to the Empire he died in London, March 19, 1883.

The confederation of the British provinces into the Dominion of Canada was effected while General Doyle was governor of Nova Scotia, this event occurring in 1867.³⁰

THE HONOURABLE JOSEPH HOWE was the first lieutenant-governor appointed for Nova Scotia after Confederation. He received his commission May 1, 1873. Hon. Joseph Howe, one of the most eminent statesmen of the provinces of the Dominion of Canada, was born at Halifax, December 13, 1804. His father was Mr. John Howe of Boston, who was born in that town in 1753, and was editor with Mrs. Margaret Draper of the *News-Letter*, the only newspaper that continued to be published in Boston during the siege in 1775 and 1776. Coming to Halifax as a Loyalist refugee, John Howe soon became there King's printer. He died in 1835. Hon. Joseph Howe's life has been ably written and his letters and speeches have been published. He has perhaps received more honour from his countrymen since his death than any other Nova Scotian. He was a liberal in politics and a consistent champion of the rights of the people. He took the oath as lieutenant-governor May 10, 1873, but his death occurred on the 22d day after. He died at Halifax, June 1, 1873.

The next appointee to the lieutenant-governorship was Mr.

30. See Dictionary of National Biography.

Howe's long time opponent in politics, the Honourable James William Johnstone, judge in equity, member of the legislative council, attorney-general, solicitor-general, and representative to the legislature, in politics a distinguished conservative. Judge Johnstone when he was appointed lieutenant-governor was in the south of France. He accepted the appointment, but died in England on his way home. He was born in the island of Jamaica, but came to Nova Scotia in early manhood and founded an important family in Halifax.³¹

THE HONOURABLE SIR ADAMS GEORGE ARCHIBALD, K. C. M. G., was commissioned lieutenant-governor July 4, 1873. Sir Adams also was a native Nova Scotian, he was a son of Mr. Samuel Archibald of Truro, Colchester county, and grandson of Mr. James Archibald, also of Colchester county, a justice there of the court of common pleas. Sir Adams was called to the bar of Nova Scotia as a barrister in 1839, was a member of the executive council, first as solicitor-general, from August 14, 1856, to February 14, 1857, then as attorney-general, from February 10, 1860, to June 11, 1863. He was a delegate to England to arrange the terms of settlement with the British Government and the general mining association in respect to Nova Scotia mines, and also to obtain the views of the government relative to the projected union of the provinces. He was sworn to the privy council of Canada, July 1, 1867, but this position he resigned in 1868. From May 20, 1870, to May, 1873, he was lieutenant-governor of Manitoba and the Northwestern Territories, from June 24, 1873, to July 4, 1873, he was judge in equity in Nova Scotia, and at the latter date, as we have said, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia. In 1873 he was also one of the directors of the Canadian Pacific railway under Sir Hugh Allan. He ceased to be lieutenant-governor in 1883, but was knighted in 1885. He died at Truro, December 14, 1892.

The lieutenant-governors since Sir Adams Archibald have been:

31. For Hon. Joseph Howe, see the Dictionary of National Biography; and an able biography of him by Hon. Judge J. W. Longley of the Supreme bench of Nova Scotia. See "Howe's Letters and Speeches," edited by Hon. William Annand. For Hon. Judge Johnstone, see "Three Premiers," by Rev. Edward Manning Saunders, D. D., and a sketch by Hon. Judge A. W. Savary, D. C. L., of Annapolis Royal, in the Calnek-Savary History of Annapolis.

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Matthew Henry Richey, Esq., Barrister, Q. C., 1883-1888; Hon. Archibald Woodbury McLelan, 1888-1890; Hon. Sir Malachy Bowes Daly, K. C. M. G., 1890-1900; Hon. Alfred Gilpin Jones, 1900-1906; Hon. Duncan Cameron Fraser, 1906-1910; Hon. James Drummond McGregor, 1910-1915; Hon. David McKeen, 1915-1916; Hon. Mac-Callum Grant, 1916—. All these except Sir Malachy Daly have been native Nova Scotians and men previously active in the political life of the province.

The Lieutenant-Governors of Nova Scotia from 1749 to 1786, while the governors were "Governors-in-Chief," were as follows:

COLONEL CHARLES LAWRENCE, appointed July 17, 1750, (commissioned Governor in 1756).

ROBERT MONCKTON, Esq., afterwards General Monckton, commissioned probably December 31, 1755. His commission seems to have been repeated August 17, 1757, and October 27, 1760. On the 20th of March, 1761, he was commissioned governor of New York, in place of Sir Charles Hardy, who had resigned. Of Monckton's military rank when he was lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia we are not sure.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF JUSTICE JONATHAN BELCHER was commissioned April 14, 1761, but was relieved of the duties of the office in September, 1762. He took the formal oath of the office November 21, 1761.³²

THE HONOURABLE COLONEL MONTAGUE WILMOT was commissioned January 13, 1762. Chief Justice and Lieutenant-Governor Jonathan Belcher apprised the council of Colonel Wilmot's appointment, August 26, 1762. Colonel Wilmot took the oath of office September 26, 1762. On the 11th of March, 1763, he was commissioned governor-in-chief.

THE HONOURABLE MICHAEL FRANCKLIN was commissioned lieutenant-governor March 28, 1766, and filled the office until some time in 1776. He died November 8, 1782.³³

32. "Jonathan Belcher, First Chief Justice of Nova Scotia," a sketch by Hon. Sir Charles Townshend, D. C. L., in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 18.

33. See "Lieutenant Governor Francklin," by James S. Macdonald, in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 16.

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ADMIRAL MARIOT ARBUTHNOT was commissioned February 16, 1776, and took the oath of office April 22, 1776. He continued in office until January, 1778, when he was advanced to flag rank and left Nova Scotia. He was probably a captain when he took office as lieutenant-governor.³⁴

RICHARD HUGHES, Esq., R. N., afterward Sir Richard Hughes, Baronet, was commissioned March 12, 1778, and took the oath of office August 17, 1778. On the 26th of September, 1780, he was promoted rear admiral of the blue. In April, 1780, he succeeded his father, Sir Richard Hughes, Sr., in the baronetcy.³⁵

SIR ANDREW SNAPE HAMOND, BARONET, CAPTAIN R. N., was commissioned lieutenant-governor December 15, 1780, although as appears he did not take the oath of office until July 31, 1781. He held the office until December, 1783, on the 10th of which month he was created a baronet. About this time he left Halifax for England.³⁶

EDMUND FANNING, Esq., was commissioned lieutenant-governor some time in 1783. He was born in Long Island, New York, in 1737, and graduated at Yale College in 1757. He practised law at Hillsborough, North Carolina, received the degrees of M. A. from Harvard in 1764 and King's (Columbia) in 1772, D. C. L. from Oxford in 1774, and LL.D. from both Yale and Dartmouth in 1803. In 1777 he raised a corps of four hundred and sixty Loyalists, which bore the name of the Associate Refugees or King's American Regiment, and of this he became general. Probably in the summer or early autumn of 1783 he went to Nova Scotia, and September 23, 1783, the King's Commission appointing him lieutenant-governor of the province was read in council. He at once took the oath of office and was likewise admitted to the council. In October, 1786, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Prince Edward Island under the governor general of all the provinces. This last office he held for nineteen years. He died in London February 28, 1818.³⁷

34. See Dictionary of National Biography.

35. See Dictionary of National Biography.

36. See Dictionary of National Biography.

37. See Dictionary of National Biography.

De Soto's Route West of the Mississippi River

BY ADA MIXON, WASHINGTON, D. C.



TRANSCRIPT of an unpublished document hitherto unknown to the New World, recently received in this country from the National Library of Madrid, sheds a ray of light upon the puzzling question of the route of De Soto after he crossed the Mississippi River on June 18, 1541. It is the diary of Don Luis Moscoso de Alvarado, who upon the death of De Soto succeeded him in command of the expedition.

It will be remembered that Guachoya, the Indian village where De Soto's death occurred, was situated near the junction of the Mississippi with one of its tributaries, a lengthy river whose course through mountains and forests the party had followed for many weary miles. Early historians presumed this river to be the Arkansas River; later ones have located Guachoya near the mouth of the Red River in Louisiana, which is a continuation of the Ouachita River and follows a winding course through the mountains and forests of Arkansas and Oklahoma. The manuscript of Moscoso's diary begins with the arrival of the party at Guachoya and subsequent events including the death and burial of Hernando de Soto. On the face of it the manuscript bears evidence of having been an actual diary; it is composed largely of short sentences often unrelated yet connected by the conjunction *and*, as though written between hurried marches or hastily put down during short intervals of rest.

The statement which seems to set at rest any doubt as to the location of the town of Guachoya reads as follows:

"So that they agreed to place the body in a more secure place and with much dissimulation they sounded the river and found that the stream was 17 fathoms deep and 1-4 of a league in width and having hollowed out a very large live oak they placed the body in it, nailing strong boards on top. They carried it to the stream and

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with many tears placed it in the river and they saw that it reached the bottom."

There are no live oaks anywhere near the mouth of the Arkansas River while they are plentiful further southward in Louisiana and at the mouth of the Red River in Concord Parish. As trees are known to be several centuries old, no doubt could they speak, the oaks along these shores might verify this interesting account of the first burial of a white man in the Great River.

With this fact established, we are one step nearer to the solution of the question of the point where the party of De Soto crossed the Great River or the "Rio Grande" as the Spaniards named the Mississippi River. William Gaylord Bourne, late a professor of English at Yale University, made the accepted translations of the only published narratives which are considered authentic, that of Rodrigo Rangel, De Soto's private secretary, that of De Biedma, the factor of the expedition, and the narrative of the Portuguese gentleman. Mr. Bourne located the point of crossing in the neighborhood of the 34th parallel above the mouth of the Arkansas River and below Helena, Arkansas.

If this be true the village of Pacaha which was situated near the junction of the Great River with one of its tributaries, must have been at the mouth of St. Francis River in Lee County, Arkansas. This province of Pacaha extended for some distance on both sides of the Mississippi River and before they crossed to the western shore, the Spaniards had heard much of the great and powerful chief of the Pacahas. While the Spaniards sojourned near the village of Quiz Quiz in what is now Mississippi, where they made the boats in which to cross the river, they were visited by the Indians from the opposite shore whose chief and province was named Aquixo. If the province of Casqui was between those of Aquixo and Pacaha, why did not De Soto hear of him also before crossing the river?

When they reached the western shore of the Mississippi River the Spaniards were in the province of Aquixo and with some difficulty they made their way up the river until they heard of Casqui, when they turned aside and visited that province before going to

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Pacaha as they had first meant to do. Where was this province of Casqui? According to the Portuguese narrative, they first heard of Casqui after reaching the village of Aquixo.

The chief of Casqui was a hereditary enemy of the chief of Pacaha whose territory was separated from his own by a large lake. Also, there were large tall pines in the Casqui country, which proves that that province could not have been very near the Mississippi or the St. Francis rivers. To find such a land one must turn to the west of Helena or Aquixo, where in the vicinity of Pine City in Monroe County are still many large pines. From here the Spaniards were aided by the Indians in journeying to invade Pacaha. The Indians built a bridge over the lake between the two provinces so that the party could cross. Northeast of Pine City partly in Monroe and partly in Lee counties there is today a large swampy region, largely reclaimed by cultivation, but still a formidable body of water in "high water time." This was probably the "lake" bordering the two provinces of Casqui and Pacaha.

The province of Pacaha included the region of the St. Francis River valley where the soil is very rich and the waters abound in many varieties of fish. These were evidently coveted by Casquin, whose lands bordered the White River but had no outlet upon the Mississippi River and contained no region where fish were so plentiful as at Pacaha. He alone of the three chiefs on the western side of the Mississippi River welcomed the advent of the Spaniards because he had heard that they intended to conquer Pacaha. He came to meet De Soto and offered him the use of his own house, while the chiefs of Aquixo and Pacaha did all they could to prevent the Spaniards from crossing the Great River.

The place where De Soto first beheld the Mississippi seems to have been near Quiz Quiz. Six leagues from this place, to quote Rangel's account "there they saw the great river." It was near here that the Spaniards placed their camp and made the boats they used in crossing. Quiz Quiz was nine days' journey northwest of Chickasa, which Mr. Bourne has located at the headwaters of the Tombigbee river in Mississippi. While at the camp near Quiz Quiz "a cross bow shot from the river" they were visited by the chief of Aquixo from the opposite shore, who brought with him a large

DE SOTO'S ROUTE WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

retinue. Says the Gentleman of Elvas: "These were fine looking men, very large and well formed; and what with the awnings (which covered the boats), the plumes and the shields, the pennons, and the number of people in the fleet, it appeared like a famous armada of galleys." These warriors carried shields of closely woven splits of cane made in workmanlike manner. They came out of curiosity and not in friendship.

Woodbury Lowery says in his "Spanish Settlements in America":

"There are four different elements which may enter into the determination of the route followed by De Soto; these are direction, distance, names of localities, and identification of localities. The first three are found in the narratives themselves and there is unquestionably a general agreement between the authors as to the names of the localities visited and the order in which they were met with."

In regard to the directions given in the narratives it would be practically impossible for an explorer through the densest forests over mountains and through morasses, to keep in mind the directions he has traveled except in a general way. And as for distances, so many detours have to be made in such a journey, that an estimate of the distance cannot be given very definitely. Says Lowery again:

"An evidence of the very great difference in the estimate of a distance based on one day's march is afforded by the Tristan de Luna expedition, made about twenty years later, in which a small company of soldiers returned in twelve days over a route it had taken seventy days for an army of two hundred to traverse for the first time."

It is probable then that De Soto's wanderings of a year through the mountains, valleys and swamps of Florida after he crossed the Mississippi, took him no further than the Ozark Mountains in Arkansas where he went into winter quarters at Autianque which, according to the published sketch of the route, seems to have been on the Ouachita River below Malvern.

This sketch has been carefully worked out from the three narratives of Ranjel, De Biedma and the Gentleman of Elvas, every effort being made to make the data of each story conform as far as possible

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to the natural features of the country through which they are known to have passed. As these Indians west of the Mississippi were for the most part roving tribes, the names of the localities as given in the narratives do not help in any way to locate the villages and provinces mentioned. One must depend solely upon the natural features, the swamps, rivers, mountains, the character of the vegetation and the kind of trees mentioned. The route given in this sketch however is a tentative one claiming only an approximate accuracy.

The uncertainty of the exact places visited; the great difference shown by the accounts of this expedition in the nature of the natives of the region in 1541 from the Indians of a later date inhabiting the same territory; the magnitude of the undertaking which made quite a stir at the time among the intrepid adventurers of the Old World; all these have served to invest De Soto and his band with a romantic halo shared by no other explorer of the Western World. Added to this, his discovery of the Great River and his death upon its shore; his picturesque burial beneath its dark waters and the miraculous escape of the remnant of his band from extermination at Aminoya, all is material for the poets and artists of the future.

Tradition at least has been busy with his name. The honor of being the spot where De Soto first beheld the Father of Waters is claimed by various places as far south as Natchez and as far north as Memphis. One Louisiana gentleman offers to point out De Soto's burial place. According to him De Soto's body was placed in the water and "floated down the Mississippi River to a point just north of the mouth of Red River and there buried."

The story of the expedition holds abundant material for an epic. Crowded into a few terse sentences is condensed many a thrilling drama. For instance the Greeks would have made an immortal tragedy from the barbaric tale of the young savage whose name is not revealed who was burned alive in the wilds of Georgia in an effort to compel him to reveal the hiding place of the chief of his tribe.

The beautiful story of the youthful cacique of Chiaha is more nobly inspiring than the Roman tale of the Sabine Women. It was in the wilderness somewhere in what is now Georgia or Alabama. De Soto, according to his custom, had taken Chiaha prisoner and

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exacted a tribute of "tamemes" or burden bearers, but in this instance asked that the slaves be thirty women of the tribe. That night all the Indians withdrew quietly from the vicinity taking the chief and all the women and children with them. But Chiaha's sense of honor compelled him to return to De Soto and inform him that he had tried to persuade his men to obey De Soto's command but without success. Valuing his honor more than his own liberty he voluntarily put his life into the hands of the ruthless Spaniards. It is pleasing to note, however, that De Soto changed his demand and asked for thirty men instead of women, and the request was granted and Chiaha was given his freedom. This happy ending stands out in strong contrast to many others far more gruesome which adorn these sombre narratives.

What tale of adventure was ever stranger than that of Juan Ortiz, a Spanish sailor whom De Soto found soon after he landed in Florida? He had been a captive of the Indians for twelve years and became De Soto's most valued interpreter.

And for comedy material, take the story of the roast pig of Chickasa. When De Soto had held the chief of that tribe and exacted tribute of everything he required, he dismissed the chief with gifts as was his wont, in order to restore good feeling. The present the most prized in this case was a "square meal" of roast pig. The Spaniards had brought some pigs from Cuba which multiplied until at one time they had three hundred porkers. The Chickasa Indians relished the roast pig so much that they wanted more and wanted it so much that they began to visit the camp of the Spaniards at night to help themselves from the pig pen. This led to trouble and deadly enmity and finally the Indians set fire to the camp with disastrous results.

No modern thriller excels the few lines that tell of the only woman in the expedition who had accompanied her husband as far as Chickasa in what is now Mississippi, and lost her life in the fire there because she insisted on going into her burning house to recover some pearls she had brought from Cotaquiqui.

And for romance the story of Francisco de Guzman has no equal. It was after the death of De Soto in the wilds of Chaguate which was probably in Arkansas but may have been Louisiana or Texas.

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This young Spaniard, said to have been of noble birth, lost all he had by gaming and gaming was against the military regulations and Captain Moscoso was very strict. The last thing he wagered was the one he held most precious—his Indian girl slave, and to avoid giving her up he went away with her to her own people and never came back.

In like manner the Princess of Cotafachiqui in Georgia, who was held as a hostage by De Soto, managed to escape taking with her a young Spaniard whom she loved and who loved her.

The ways of Periso, the Indian boy guide through the mountains of Georgia, make a far better plot than that of the average musical comedy. He had told his captors of the gold mines far off in the mountains from whence he had come—in Yupaha. But as he approached the place with them his heart failed him either from fear of punishment by his own people or from a certain faithfulness to his own country, and he was suddenly taken with a fit and had to be exorcised by the good Friar John, the Evangelist, he being of the opinion that the lad was possessed by a devil. By this ruse Periso succeeded in covering his failure to keep his promise to show the Spaniards the way to the gold mines of Yupaha and moreover, he escaped punishment because many believed him insane and also because he was a guide, though a poor one, and of some help to his captors in finding their way through the jargon of savage tongues.

Few moving pictures tell as thrilling a tale as that of the four young Spaniards at Chickasa who had taken some skins and shawls from the Indians and by this act stirred them up to threaten an attack on the invaders. De Soto was furious at their behavior and condemned all four to be beheaded although one of the number, Don Francisco Osorio, was a nobleman, a brother of the "Lord Marquis of Astorga." In vain did the friars, priests and principal men of the party plead with the Governor to rescind the order for their execution. The time was near for the men to pay the extreme penalty for their misdeeds when some of the Indians arrived led by a chief to complain of the outrage committed by the four Spaniards. While they were trembling with fear, Baltasar de Gallegos, the Chief Quartermaster, and other older heads, persuaded Juan Ortiz, the interpreter, to change the words of the conference. De Soto was

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told that the Chief assured him that the condemned Christians were in no fault and had done nothing wrong and asked that they be allowed to go free; then Ortiz told the Indians that the guilty men would be punished severely. In consequence, the prisoners were ordered to be released, the Indians went away satisfied and everybody breathed easier and it is to be presumed that the four rash young spoilsmen exclaimed "Never again!" in the most approved screen leader language.

One can find even the comedy of manners in the account of the feast which De Soto invited the two chiefs of Pacaha and Casqui to share with him after Pacaha was conquered. This was in Arkansas near the mouth of the St. Francis River, in the village of Pacaha. De Soto was trying to restore good feeling between the two enemies, but found that each one of the two chiefs claimed the place of honor at his right hand. With some difficulty an altercation between the caciques was prevented and they were persuaded to let De Soto decide this perplexing question of precedence which is still a source of disturbance in the official circles of civilization. De Soto very graciously gave the place of honor to the conquered guest, Pacaha. It is a singular fact that the Indians of 1541 were not the same as those of one hundred and fifty years later—the descriptions of their manners and customs as given by these later explorers is that of a very different race. It is presumed that the earlier tribes were exterminated or that they migrated further west and were lost to history.



The Brave Industry of Whaling

BY ZEPHANIAH W. PEASE, OF NEW BEDFORD, MASS.*



THE story of New Bedford's fascinating industry—the whale fishing—is so interwoven with the history of New Bedford that it cannot be separated from it, yet the story is so full of romance and adventure, as well as of commercial importance, that it deserves special volumes where we can give chapters only.

The water front of New Bedford was once conspicuous by a forest of whaleship masts. Now the tall chimneys of the cotton mills have assumed the place they occupied in the picture, telling of the decline of the whaling business and the progress of the cotton industry which is now on the top wave of success.

Along the water front one still encounters a few old buildings of stone which were occupied by whaling agents in the palmy days of whaling, when a great race of merchants and captains frequented them. The merchants were a type of men such as this generation produces not,—portly nabobs who wore broadcloth and beaver hats and jeweled watch fobs, looking the part of men of large affairs, others in the garb of the Quaker, while the captain of those old days was the embodiment of affluence. The boys of that early day all aspired to command whaleships, and the captain of a whaler was looked upon by youth with the awe with which Mark Twain used to look upon the captains of the Mississippi steamboats.

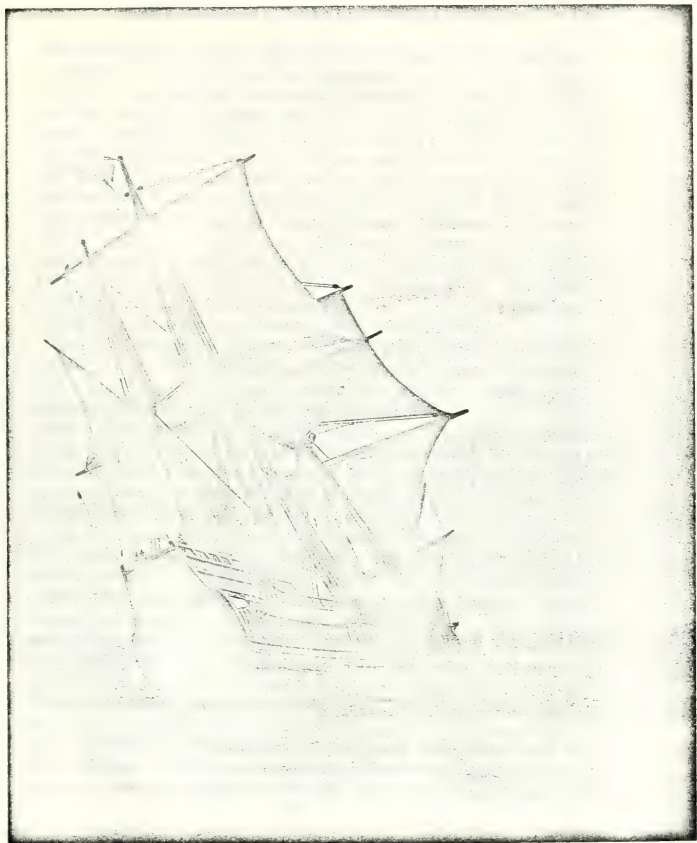
In these buildings were the counting rooms of the whaling merchants. The first floors were often the ship chandlery shops and rooms where whaling outfits were stored between voyages. The counting rooms were on the second floors, and there were sail lofts and rigging lofts in the upper stories. These counting rooms had a character all their own. There were counters and iron railings

*From "History of New Bedford," now in press, (Lewis Hist. Pub. Co., N. Y.) by permission.

behind which were desks of mahogany. The bookkeepers stood up, or sat on high stools. There were few desks in the old counting rooms at which the office help might sit in a chair. About the office walls were models of whaleships and whaling prints reproduced from the paintings of Benjamin Russell. There were boxes on the shelves, lettered with the names of the whale ships, in which the vessel's bills and papers were kept. One of these great buildings of stone and brick, unadorned by architectural ornament and reflecting the tendencies of the business men of the period, is still standing at the foot of Union street, and is now occupied in part by the offices of the New York, New Haven & Hartford railroad.

The late Jonathan Bourne, the most successful of all the whaling merchants in New Bedford's rich history, who owned at one time more ships than any man in New England, carried on business in the old stone block at the head of Merrill's wharf throughout his career, and his counting rooms are now exactly as he left them, the sole survivor of all the counting rooms which are visualized in the minds of those who remember the fascinating industry, no less than the quaint old ships strongly characterized by their clumsy wooden davits and masthead perches from which the lookouts watched for whales.

There is to-day an odor of whale oil about Merrill's wharf, contributed by a few hundred casks of oil that happen to be stored there at this time, which brings back memories of departed days to the old citizen who gets a whiff of oil and seaweed once so familiar. The power of smells to evoke pictures was recently emphasized by Mr. Kipling. "Have you noticed," he wrote the other day, "wherever a few travelers gather together, one or the other is sure to say, 'Do you remember the smell of such and such a place?' Then he may go to speak of camel—pure camel—one whiff of which is all Arabia; or of the smell of rotten eggs at Hitt, on the Euphrates, where Noah got the pitch for the ark; or the flavor of drying fish in Burma." Mr. Kipling's allusion brought out a swarm of letters from people who tried to assign the characteristic smell of great cities. One man tells that the odor of Paris is a mingling of the fragrance of burnt coffee, of caporal and of burning peat. Berlin, we are told, has the clean, asphaltry, disinfectant smell of all new towns; while Vienna



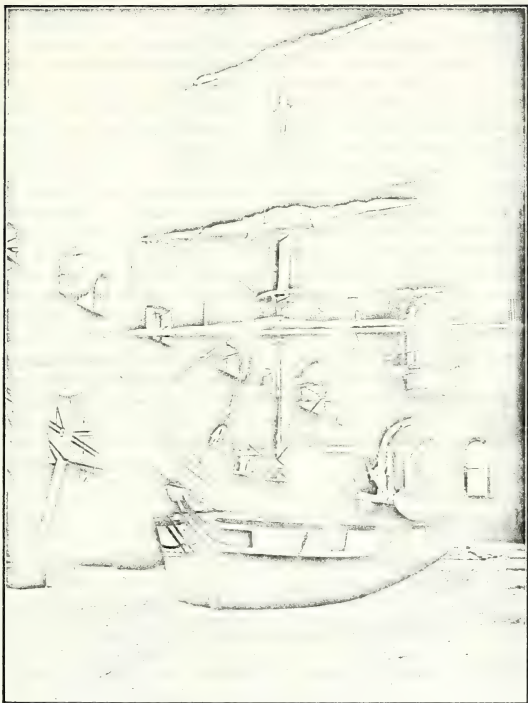
OLD TYPE BRITISH SHIP

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the windy reeks of dust. The London "Times," coming in here, is stirred to a pitch of poetical enlargement by the topic: "The subject of smells in their relation to the traveler is an old and favorite topic with Mr. Kipling. Has he not said somewhere that the smell of the Himalayas always calls a man back? And does not his time-expired soldier sing of the 'spicy garlic smells' of Burma? The smells of travel are indeed innumerable. The voyager gets his first real whiff of the east when he lands at Aden, and drives along a dusty road to the bazaar within the crater. It lingers in his nostrils for evermore. On the coast of Burma and down the straits the air is redolent of rotten fish and overripe fruit. Tropical jungles have been olfactory memories of decaying vegetation. The smell of Chinese villages is like nothing else in the world, but the odd thing is that to the true traveler it ceases to be disagreeable."

So much for smells, apropos of those which linger on Merrill's wharf. In the old days casks of oil coated with seaweed covered every wharf along the water front of New Bedford. The leakage saturated the soil, and the air was redolent with the heavy odor. After a century in which it was the distinctive New Bedford smell it has vanished excepting from this little spot where, in the only place on earth, is exhaled the odor of the industry which produced great fortunes and made the New Bedford of old the richest city in the country in proportion to its population.

The records of Plymouth and Nantucket as far back as 1676 and 1690, respectively, tell of the business of killing whales, which was carried on in boats from the shore. In 1751 there were two or three vessels from Apponagansett river engaged in this fishery. These vessels were owned by John Wady and Daniel Wood. There were at this date one or two vessels in this business from the Acushnet river owned by Joseph and Caleb Russell. Up to this time whales were principally taken between George's Bank and the Capes of Virginia; and the voyages continued from four to six weeks. Soon after, the whalers extended their cruising grounds to the eastward of the Newfoundland coast, and the voyages were lengthened to three months. At first more vessels were fitted from Apponagansett river than from the Acushnet; but soon the superior advantages of



MODEL OF WHALING SHIP

In Bourne Whaling Museum, New Bedford

THE BRAVE INDUSTRY OF WHALING

our harbor became apparent, and the Apponagansett vessels were fitted here.

“Consider for a moment the aspect of our town when these two or three little sloops were fitting for their whaling voyages,” wrote William W. Crapo: “The present site of the city was a forest. There was a ‘try-house’ near the shore (at the foot of Centre street), and a rough cartway led through the woods to the few farm houses on the County road.” The Rev. Paul Coffin, who ten years later (July 21, 1761) visited the place, thus describes it in his journal: “This day rode to Dartmouth, a spacious town; twenty miles will carry you through it. Rocks and oaks are over the whole town. Whortle bushes and rocks in this and the two former towns are the sad comfort of the weary traveler. At sunset arrived at Rev. West’s.”

New Bedford is very rich in old manuscripts, which are continually coming to light. A few sheets of great interest are preserved, giving an account of the Russell family. Joseph Russell was the founder of the whale fishery, and the record from which quotation is made was prepared by William T. Russell, sixty or seventy years ago. Joseph Russell was a son of John Russell, one of the original proprietors of the town of Dartmouth. He was born in 1719, and died in 1804. His house stood on the country road between the court house and the Charles W. Morgan estate. The old manuscript recites as follows:

In the earliest stages of the whaling business sloops of only forty or fifty tons were employed. These vessels ventured out to sea in the summer months only, and no further than the Capes of Virginia and Cape Hatteras, and took especial care to return to port before the equinoctial gales in September. They were generally successful in taking sperm whales, and brought home the blubber and tried it out on shore. As their experience increased larger vessels were employed, and they ventured as far as the bay of Mexico. And finally, during his life, ships ventured around Cape Horn to the Pacific ocean for sperm whales.

Joseph Russell first established a sperm oil factory in New Bedford. The building stood on the north side of the square at the foot of Center street. The art of refining spermaceti in those days was known to but a few men, and kept by them a profound secret. Joseph Russell employed a Mr. Chaffee for a number of years to do his refining at a salary of \$500 per year—an enormous sum for those

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days. While at work he was shut up by himself, and no one was allowed to be present, that no one should steal his wonderful art.

Joseph Russell was a shrewd, enterprising man. At one time he carried on an extensive mercantile business. In 1770, in company with his son Barnabas, he owned in addition to his whaling vessels several trading with southern ports and the West Indies. They kept a store at the foot of Center street, and imported their goods from London. The Revolutionary War put an end to their prosperity. Their vessels were taken and their losses by the depreciation of the Continental money left them at the close of the war with but little beside their real estate.

The ship "Rebecca" was the first ship built in New Bedford. She was launched in the spring of 1785. George Claghorn, who afterward built the frigate "Constitution," the pride of our navy, was the master carpenter. The "Rebecca" was owned by Joseph Russell and his sons, Barnabas and Gilbert. The timber of which she was built was largely cut in the southwesterly part of the town. She measured about 175 tons, which was considered so immensely large that she was the wonder and admiration of the surrounding country. People from Taunton, Bridgewater and all of the neighboring towns came to New Bedford to see the big ship. There was a woman figurehead carved for her and when it was about being put upon her a member of the Society of Friends remonstrated against so vain and useless an ornament, and she went to sea without it. A mock funeral service was held and the figurehead of "Rebecca" was buried in the sand. Joseph Russell's sons were the prime movers in the ceremony.

The owners of the "Rebecca" had some difficulty in finding a man of sufficient experience to trust with the command of so big a ship. James Haydon was finally selected for her captain, and Cornelius Grinnell her first mate. She sailed on her first voyage to Philadelphia, from there to Liverpool. Mr. Grinnell was her captain on the second voyage, and he commanded her for six years.

The "Rebecca" was the first American whaleship to double Cape Horn. She was commanded by Captain Kearsley and made a successful voyage, obtaining a cargo of sperm oil on the coast of Chile, returning in about twelve months. The "Rebecca" finally made a disastrous end. She sailed from Liverpool for New York in the autumn of 1798, commanded by Captain Andrew Gardner, and was never heard from.

Joseph Rotch came here from Nantucket in 1765, realizing the greater opportunities for the whaling industry here, and purchased

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a large tract of land. William Rotch came later, bringing with him his son, William Rotch, Jr. They were men of great wealth and built stately mansions with beautiful surroundings, "fair as gardens of the Lord." They brought their ships likewise. Several of the vessels of the Rotch fleet achieved great fame. It was the ship "Dartmouth," named by Dartmouth men, that carried the tea into Boston harbor that was thrown over by Revolutionary patriots. It was the ship "Bedford" that was the first to display our flag in British waters. The credit has sometimes been given to the ship "Maria." As a matter of fact the credit belongs to the old ship "Bedford" of this port. It was passing strange that not only the newspapers but Mrs. Farrar, a granddaughter of the elder William Rotch, in her "Recollections of Seventy Years," and Mrs. P. A. Hanaford published the erroneous statement. "I have often heard the old gentleman tell with pride and pleasure," wrote Mrs. Farrar, "that the 'Maria' was the first ship that ever unfurled the flag of the United States in the Thames." Yet the records show that on the date the flag was displayed in the Thames the "Maria" was lying at the wharf at Nantucket. "Barnard's History," a rare book, published at the time, contained the following:

The ship "Bedford," Captain Mooers, belonging in Massachusetts, arrived in the Downs on the 3d of February, passed Gravesend on the 3d, and was reported at the custom house on the 6th inst. She was not allowed regular entry until some consultation had taken place between the commissioners of the customs and the lords of council, on account of the many acts of Parliament in force against the rebels of America. She was loaded with 487 butts of whale oil, is American built, manned wholly by American seamen, and wears the rebel colors. This is the first vessel that has displayed the thirteen rebellious stripes of America in any British port. The vessel is at Horseledour, a little below the Tower, and is intended to return immediately to New England.

In a letter to Hezekiah Barnard, dated at New Bedford, 8th mo., 3d, 1842, William Rotch, Jr., thus speaks of the "Bedford" and her voyage:

In 1781 Admiral Digby granted thirty licenses for our vessels to go after whales. I was then connected with my father and Samuel

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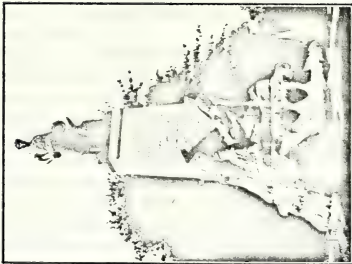
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Rodman in business. Considerable oil was obtained in 1782. In the fall of that year I went to New York and procured licenses from Admiral Digby for the "Bedford," William Mooers, master, and I think the "Industry," John Chadwick, master. They loaded. The "Bedford" sailed first, arriving in the Downs, February 23, the day of the signing of the preliminary treaty of peace between the United States, France and England, and went up to London, and there displayed for the first time the United States flag. The "Industry" arrived afterwards, and was, I suppose, the second to display it. The widow of George Hayley, who did much business with New England, would visit the old "Bedford" and see the flag displayed. She was the sister of the celebrated John Wilkes.

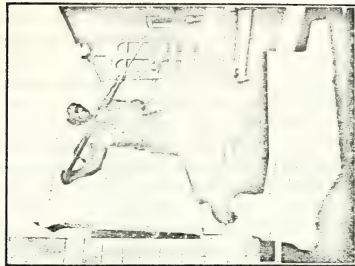
William Rotch, Jr., might have added to his notice of Mme. Hayley that a more intimate connection with the Rotches than a visit to the ship was contemplated, for Mme. Hayley was at one time betrothed to Francis Rotch.

Even if the "Maria" is deprived of the erroneous fame attributed to her, she yet remains the most interesting vessel, perhaps, that ever sailed from this port. She was built for a privateer at Pembroke, Massachusetts, in 1782. She was purchased by William Rotch, and taken to Nantucket, from whence she made a voyage to London with a cargo of oil. After the voyage she was employed in whaling, and was owned by Samuel Rodman. It is a tradition that she was a bridal present from Mr. Rodman's father-in-law, Mr. Rotch, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter. In all she made twenty-seven voyages, and is credited with having taken about 25,000 barrels of sperm oil, whale oil, and many thousand pounds of whalebone. It is said that in 1859 \$250,000 stood to her credit. She had been of but little expense to her underwriters.

On July 4, 1785, when the "Maria" sailed for London with a cargo of oil, Mr. Rotch and his son Benjamin went in her as passengers to induce the English government to permit the establishment of the whale fishery in England. Mr. Rotch had several interviews with the leaders of the government, and, getting no satisfaction, he went to France and had an interview with the King, which resulted in establishing the industry at Dunkirk. Returning to England in the "Maria" Mr. Rotch had the satisfaction of telling the English



BARNARD MONUMENT
NEW BEDFORD



THE HARPOONER

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they were too late. France having accepted the offer of which England was slow to take advantage.

When the "Maria" was fifty years old, she had made four voyages to London, thirteen to Brazil banks, then a famous whaling ground; one to the Indian ocean, one to the Falkland islands, and eighteen to the Pacific ocean. In 1836 the "Maria" sailed, but returned, having been struck by lightning. In 1838 she was changed from a ship to a bark, and in 1849 sailed for the Indian ocean. While on this cruise the bark's career was nearly ended. She was seized by the natives of the Johanna islands. Captain Morris, then in command, was imprisoned. The bark was afterwards released and spared the fate of burning, which was frequently dealt by the natives in those times.

The "Maria" sailed for this port September 29, 1859, on what was destined to be her last voyage under the American flag. She was then seventy-seven years old, and had been owned by Mr. Rotch and his descendants all the time. To avoid the risk of capture by rebel cruisers she was sold February 24, 1863, at Talcahuano, Chile, to Burton & Trumbull, and her name was changed to "Maria Pachaco." She was used as a coaler until 1866, when she was fitted for whaling under command of David Briggs, of Dartmouth, Massachusetts. She continued under the Chilean flag in the whaling and coal carrying business until 1870. Then she was used as an oil receiving ship until 1872, when she took fire and was condemned. With her breaking up at Vancouver Island, her strange eventful history was brought to a close.

The War of the Revolution nearly destroyed the whaling business, and when peace was restored there was great rejoicing, and then came a stunning blow. Great Britain, as William W. Crapo tells us, had enacted a law which in effect prohibited the importation of American caught oil into the kingdom. The purpose of the law was apparent. The New England catch was in excess of the demand for home consumption, and unless there was an outlet for the surplus, which had been largely through London, there could be no extension of the industry; and, with the surplus thrown upon a market which did not require it, the return would be unremunerative, which would lead to reduction of the fleet and the possible abandon-

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ment of the enterprise. Great Britain did not pass the law for the purpose of protecting an existing British industry, nor to encourage or promote a new British industry. Far from it. The words of Edmund Burke in his famous speech in Parliament a few years before, when remonstrating against the war with the colonies, were still ringing in the ears of the Britons. He told them of a people living on the New England coast, few in number, who surpassed in maritime adventure and daring the people of every nation in Europe. With rare and impressive eloquence he had portrayed their marvelous triumphs on the ocean. He said they were a people whom equinoctial heats did not disturb, nor the accumulated winters of the poles. That there was no ocean that was not vexed with their vessels, and no climate that did not witness their toil. He spoke of them as people still "in the gristle," as it were, and not yet hardened in the bone of manhood. England was ambitious to be the mistress of the seas, and she feared that the new nation, should it become strong and powerful, might some day challenge her sovereignty of the ocean. Hence she would throttle and destroy at the outset an industry that bred such a race of seamen.

William Rotch went to London. He interviewed the leading public men of that time. He met members of Parliament and urged the repeal of the obnoxious law. He was received with coldness. After long and vexatious delay the matter was referred to the First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Hawksbury. Realizing that he could not obtain the annulment of the law Mr. Rotch still hoped that some agreement would be reached whereby to secure the continuance of the New England whale fishery. He suggested that an English port be designated where American whaleships could enter to make repairs and to purchase the equipment and supplies for their voyage, thereby furnishing employment to English workmen and profit to English tradesmen, and on the completion of the voyages such vessels might reënter that port and discharge their cargoes, which would be sold and distributed by English merchants who would receive a liberal compensation for their service. Mr. Rotch had in mind, if this concession was granted, that the ships owned in Dartmouth and Nantucket would still fly the American flag and be manned with American sailors.

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The concession was not granted,—Lord Hawksbury scornfully saying—“Mr. Rotch, we do not want your ships. England builds ships. What we do want are your men.” And so he went to France. He met there members of the Ministry and explained to them what he wanted to accomplish, and asked for certain privileges and protection. These were granted to him by the government. At Dunkirk he established a business for the marketing of American oil, which he placed in charge of his son Benjamin. Returning to this country he ever afterwards lived in New Bedford, which had separated from the mother town, and never ceased his efforts for the success of the whaling industry for the community to which he had attached himself.

In the succeeding generation the prominent whaling merchants were John Avery Parker and George Howland, Sr. They were able men, with full knowledge of all matters pertaining to the fishery. They were enterprising, venturesome, efficient and successful. They added many ships to our fleet, and they greatly increased the wealth of the town.

Among the men of that period who had an important part in our special industry was Isaac Howland, Jr., the founder and active manager of the firm which bore his name. His firm is remembered by the magnitude of its operations and the gainful results. The remarkable house founded by Isaac Howland, Jr., is represented and crystallized in the famous Hetty Green. Isaac Howland, Jr., was a little man, weighing only ninety-five pounds. He found it the greatest hardship and toil to accumulate the first thousand dollars. When there were small schooners trading from the West Indies, before the seizures which led to the French spoliation claims, the sailors wore silk stockings into port on the ‘Howlands’ ships. Isaac Howland, Jr., bought these stockings from the men, washed and ironed them, and resold them at a good profit. This is a feeble structure on which to build a fortune of forty or fifty millions. He could neither read nor write. His one object was money, money, money. He had one daughter who married the famous Uncle Gideon Howland. Uncle Gideon lived on the corner of School and South Water streets. He died in 1847, leaving about \$800,000.

Edward Mott Robinson, the father of Hetty Green, came here

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penniless, and married Abby Howland, one of Gideon's daughters. The other daughter was Sylvia Ann Howland, who never married. Robinson was a strange man. He lived a sad and miserable life, and he had few redeeming qualities. Many stories are told of him. One day a young man offered him a cigar. He examined it and asked what it cost. Upon being told that it cost ten cents he handed it back with the remark: "I buy mine two for a cent. If I smoke that one I will have my taste cultivated for good ones, and I don't want that." Of George Howland, Sr., Mary Jane Howland Taber wrote:

He was particular about the names of his ships. There was the "George and Susan," and the "George Howland," and the "Ann Alexander," the name of an Irish friend who was traveling in this country, and the "Corinthian," supposed to refer to Paul's epistles, and the "Golconda," a pleasant association of ideas with the diamond mines of Hindustan, and when he bought of Stephen Girard a merchant vessel named "Rousseau," it was with the intention of fitting her for a whaler and changing her name. As soon as she arrived in this port he had figurehead of the "infidel" chopped off and thrown into the mud of the dock, where perchance it still reposes. While casting about in his mind for an unexceptionable name he was told the name could not be changed. Once "Rousseau," always "Rousseau." He declared he was very much tried, which in worldly parlance might mean very angry, or pretty mad, and talked of sending the ship back to Philadelphia, though of course he was aware that could not be done. This devil's bark proved very lucky, and always made what the sailors call greasy voyages, but when her great catches were reported her owner puffed out his cheeks and emitted a contemptuous "pooh." When he was obliged to speak the name he purposely mispronounced it "Rus-o," and to this day you will hear people speak of "the old Rus-o." She had the longest life of any known ship, lasting from 1801 to 1893. The bracket which supports the bust of George Howland, Jr., in the Free Public Library is a part of the carved scroll which usurped the place under the bowsprit of the great Frenchman's figurehead, and has ploughed most of the oceans of the globe.

THE GOLDEN AGE.

In what might be called "The Golden Age" of New Bedford, its whaling vessels in number and tonnage exceeded the combined fleets

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of all other whaling ports, and New Bedford became known as the foremost whaling port of the world.

In 1845 New Bedford was the fourth tonnage district in the United States, the others being New York, Boston and New Orleans. The registered tonnage of New Bedford at that time was nearly double that of Philadelphia. Seven hundred and thirty-six vessels of all kinds were employed in the business, with a tonnage of 233,262. The greatest import ever received in one year was in 1845, being 158,000 barrels of sperm oil, 272,000 barrels of whale oil, and 3,000,000 pounds of whalebone. The prices then ruled at eighty-eight to ninety and one-half cents for sperm oil; thirty-two and seven-eighths to thirty-six and one-half cents for whale oil; and thirty-three and five-eighths to forty cents for whalebone. The whaleships owned in New Bedford would have made a line ten miles in length. The whaleboats which they carried would have extended six miles if strung out in a line, and there were 10,000 strong sailors to man them.

The present generation knows from tradition that New Bedford once ranked first among the whaling cities, but there are few, if any, who know what this industry meant in dollars and cents. The literature of the subject has been devoted to the romance, and to certain statistics dealing with vessels employed, dates of sailings and catches; but in this practical day there is no doubt a desire to know what there was in it from the dividend point of view.

An old report on the whale fishery, compiled by James Arnold and made to the National Convention for the Protection of American Interests about the year 1843, recently came to light. It is the property of Frank E. Brown, and gives statistics which have never been compiled elsewhere, and which furnish information on one phase of our historic industry which is of exceeding interest. James Arnold, it may be said, was a son-in-law and partner of William Rotch, Jr., and a famous merchant prince, a "captain of industry," to employ the vernacular of the day. Boston people remember him as the giver of the "Arnold arboretum," and his benefactions to his home city were numerous. There is hardly an institution or charitable society but has its "James Arnold fund." Mr. Arnold made his report from tabular schedules kept at New Bedford. The

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whole number of vessels employed in the national whale fishery was estimated at 650, tonnage 193,000 tons, manned by 16,000 officers and men. Of these vessels it was estimated that 360 were employed in the spermaceti and 290 in the common whale fishery.

The total cost of fitting the fleets was \$10,610,060. This labor and material was for ordinary outfit, and not for ships requiring repairs, often involving the cost of a new ship. On the basis of these estimates Mr. Arnold estimated the whole value of the ships and outfit as they sail at \$20,120,000.

The length of voyages in the sperm fishery at that time was three years, and on the right whale ships twenty months. The proceeds or imports from the fishery in 1841 were \$7,359,022, on which the officers and crews would draw for their services on the voyage about thirty per cent., or \$2,207,706. These figures show the volume of business and its profits in a form which has not been presented elsewhere. Roughly figured, and based on three-year voyages, they show annual proceeds to the owner on an investment of \$20,120,000 of \$5,151,316, exclusive of interest and insurance charges and depreciation.

Just a word about the men who were masters and officers of the New Bedford ships in those days. A race of men had been nurtured and trained in these ships who were daring and skillful, with keen perceptive faculties in pursuit of the big game. They were also able navigators and seamen, upright and careful managers of the property entrusted to them. They were gathered from the town or from the surrounding country. Naturally there was a fascination to the youthful mind. They were the heroes of the port, and they looked to pass the grades of promotion speedily, and in due time to walk the deck as master. And this, those of them who were of the right stuff, really did.

The position of competent master of a good ship was one to be envied. Even if it did cause for a time separation from home ties and family surroundings, it was a position of honor and trust and great responsibility. The master was in charge of life and property, and his word was law, and where he willed he could go. On his discretion and good judgment turned success or failure to many besides himself, on sea and shore. His draft in foreign ports for sup-

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plies or requirements bound every individual owner in the ship for the full amount of his disbursements. In this respect the power entrusted to him illustrates the inconsistencies of our human nature; close, careful men, who on shore would not trust their neighbor with a small portion of their property, who distrusted everyone's judgment and integrity, would placidly repose in the power of a master who was to sail the world around, and had the right to make drafts in any quarter that might easily absorb their all. To the honor of the men who commanded ships and accepted such trusts be it said that instances wherein they were unfaithful to the confidences reposed in them were rare indeed.

The business was an almost perfect instance of coöperative work. The owners furnished ship and all the necessary outfits and advances. Captain, officers and crew took these from their hands, and furnished their capacity and energy to procure the cargo, each man on board to receive a certain *pro rata* or share, called "lay," of the net result, the distribution being in the proportion of two-thirds to the capital invested, and one-third to labor; in the latter ability, readily recognized, commanded the highest reward.

No member of a whaleship's crew, from the captain down, received fixed wages. If the ship takes no oil, or disaster overtakes her, the crew have nothing but their existence and labor and pains. Officers and crew are shipped with the promise of a certain percentage of the catch. A captain receives a lay ranging from a tenth or twelfth to a fifteenth, according to his success in previous voyages, which means that one barrel of oil in every ten to fifteen taken is his share. In the case of a foremast hand his lay ranges from one one-hundred-and-fiftieth to one two-hundredth. The ordinary whaler carries a crew of thirty-five men. The mate receives a lay from an eighteenth to a twenty-fifth, according to agreement. The second mate receives a thirty-fourth, the third mate a forty-fifth, boat-header a fifty-fifth, four boatsteers from a hundred and eighteenth to a hundred and seventy-fifth, cooper a sixty-third, steward a ninetyeth, cook a hundred and twentieth and half the slush, green hands from a hundred and seventy-fifth to a hundred and eighty-fifth, boy a two hundredth, one seaman and one seaman carpenter each a hun-

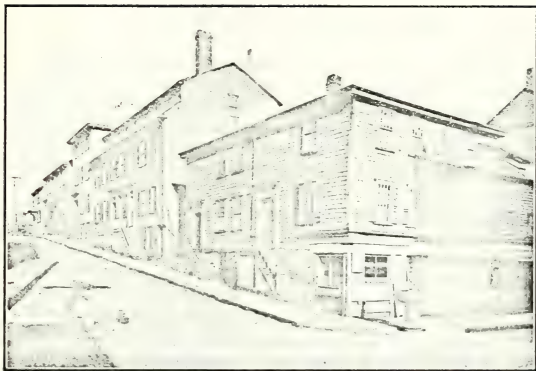
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dred and sixty-fifth, three ordinary seaman each a hundred and seventy-fifth.

As illustrating the aspect of life along the water front of New Bedford during the days when the whaling industry was in its prime the following from "The Mercury" of March 30, 1838, is quoted: "We have the satisfaction to-day of announcing the safe arrival at this port during the last two days of no less than nine vessels employed in the whale fishery, richly freighted with cargoes amounting in the aggregate nearly to 20,000 barrels of sperm and whale oil, and valued at the present prices at more than \$260,000. A considerable portion of these cargoes have been already disposed of, and for the quantity remaining to be put on the market, even higher rates will probably be obtained, in consequence of the recent advance in the price of oils in the European markets." And again November 2, 1838, it is announced: "Four arrivals at this port Friday from the Pacific ocean have brought upwards of 9,500 barrels of sperm oil, valued at about \$290,000.

Some of the bowhead whales yield an enormous product. Authorities differ as to the number of slabs of whalebone to be found in the jaw of the bowhead and right whales. Captain Wicks says 615 slabs in a bowhead and 420 in a right whale. Captain Earle says 514 in a bowhead, and Captain George Baker says 630 in a bowhead and 430 in a right whale. Captain Simeon Hawes once took a bowhead whale which made 375 barrels of oil, which is the record. The steamer "Jeanette" took a whale one cruise the bone of which weighed 3,000 pounds. Captain Willis, on one Artic voyage, took two whales the bone of which aggregated 5,600 pounds. Captain Henry Taber, in the bark "America," took a bowhead whale the bone of which weighed 3,000 pounds, the oil made 260 barrels and some of the whalebone measured seventeen feet in length. Two of the slabs of this bone were in a Honolulu shipping office for many years, and lately have been in a saloon there. A North Dartmouth man remembers the circumstances of the taking of this whale, and saw the bone in Tom Spencer's office in Honolulu. This was almost the longest bone ever taken from a bowhead whale. The ship "Ocean" once took a freak whale with an abnormally small body, the bone of which was eighteen feet in length.

1812-1820, N.Y.



"JOHNNY CAKE HILL"

House at Corner is Oldest in New Bedford

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Captain Charles Brower, who spent more than twenty-five years in the Arctic, made the statement that a bowhead whale will break ice two feet thick. Upon the receipt of whalebone in port it is cleaned with scrapers and brushes, and then submitted to a softening process in water until it becomes pliable, when it is steamed and cut into strips and lengths of marketable size. Arctic whalers figure that for every barrel of oil taken from a bowhead there will be seventeen pounds of whalebone, while in the Okhotsk sea but fourteen pounds of bone to the barrel.

NEW BEDFORD IN MELVILLE'S TIME.

Fifty years ago boys carried "Moby Dick" to bed and scared themselves so wide awake with Captain Ahab and his terrible foe that they couldn't get to sleep. And this classic of whaling romance, with its graphic pictures of New Bedford fifty years ago, is now so far forgotten that a lover of Herman Melville has asked fifty New Bedford boys if they have read "Moby Dick," and not one, he declares, had ever heard of this book.

The fascinating picture of New Bedford which Melville presented has caused many a boy and man to make a pilgrimage here. Robert J. Burdette confesses that he came about thirty years ago with Melville's picture in his mind, and "The Spouter Inn" was not, albeit a man showed him the long lance, "now widely elbowed," with which Nathan Swain did kill fifteen whales between a sunrise and a sunset. The fact that Melville has presented to us a picture of New Bedford fifty years ago, at a time when it was one of the unique cities of the world, makes it possible for this generation to appreciate how great a change the years have accomplished in the successful effort to keep up with a changing world.

It was a Saturday night in December, sixty or seventy years ago, when Melville stuffed a few shirts into his carpet bag and left New York for Cape Horn and the Pacific by way of New Bedford and Nantucket. He was determined to sail on a Nantucket whaler, because in the matter of whaling Nantucket was the great original—the Tyre of this Carthage—the place where the first American whale was stranded, and from whence the first adventurous sloop put

forth, partly laden with imported cobble stones, the story goes, to throw at the whale in order to discover when they were nigh enough to risk a harpoon from the bowsprit. As a matter of fact he sailed from New Bedford in the "Acushnet." His name may yet be seen on the crew list which reposes at the custom house. He missed the packet, and to this we are indebted to the only picture of New Bedford in those whaling times, which is preserved to us. It was a very dark and dismal night, biting cold and cheerless. "Such dreary streets," writes Melville, "blocks of blackness, not houses, on either hand, and here and there a candle, like a candle moving about in a tomb." With halting steps Melville paced the streets. He passed the sign of "The Crossed Harpoons," which looked too expensive and jolly. So did the "Sword Fish Inn." At last he came to a dim sort of light, not far from the docks, and heard a forlorn creaking in the air, and looking up saw a swinging sign over the door, with a painting upon it representing a tall straight jet of misty spray, and underneath these words, "The Spouter Inn, Peter Coffin."

Then follows the description of "The Spouter Inn," typical of the sailor boarding house which disappeared but a few years ago. There was a wide, low straggling entry, with old-fashioned wainscots, reminding one of the bulwarks of some old condemned craft. On one side hung a painting representing a Cape Horner in a hurricane, the half foundered ship weltering with three dismantled masts alone visible, and an exasperated whale purposing to spring clean over the craft in the seemingly enormous act of impaling himself upon the three mastheads. On the opposite wall was hung a heathenish array of clubs and spears, some set with glittering teeth resembling ivory saws. Mixed with these were rusty old whaling lances and harpoons, broken and deformed. Then there were divers specimens of skirmishander.

This was all typical only a few years ago, and the description would have applied to scores of sailor boarding houses on Water street and "The Marsh," but now they are not. Nor is the prototype of Queequeg, that awful harpooner, "He never eats dumplings; he don't. He eats nothing but steaks, and likes 'em rare."

Of all the institutions connected with whaling mentioned by Melville, there is but one which can be pointed out to the seeker of lit-

erary landmarks. That is the Seaman's Bethel. The New Bedford Port Society was established over seventy years ago, and in 1831 a chapel was built. It was dedicated May 2, 1832, "Father" Taylor, of Boston, officiating. Then the Bethel flag was unfurled, and from that time to the present has never failed on every Sabbath morning to signal to the sailor that there is a temple peculiarly his own, where he is welcomed on his return from his voyage, and where he can listen to the words of Gospel. The chapel that Melville attended and described was destroyed by fire in 1866, but a feature that attracted the writer's attention is still the wonder of the visitor. The walls are covered with marble cenotaphs, masoned into the walls, reading to the sailor about to go down to the sea the fate of the whalemens who have gone before him. Delightful inducements to embark, fine chance for promotion, it seems, for a stove boat will make him more immortal by brevet. Yes, there is death in this business of whaling—a speechlessly quick chaotic bundling of a man into eternity. The tablets were often placed in the walls by the shipmates of the sailors lost at sea. Occasionally they were provided by a mother, wife or sister. Some of them bear weeping willows; others, more appropriately, ships; and nearly all are bordered by heavy black frames. Here is a sample cenotaph:

In the Memory of
Wrote of ship's Journal. CAPT. WM. SWAIN,
 Associate Master of the
 Christopher Mitchell of Nantucket.

This worthy man, after fastening to a whale, was carried overboard
 by the line and drowned

May 19th, 1844, in the 49th year of his age.

"Be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not the son of man
 cometh."

There is one which tells of the tragic death of Charles Petty, who was bitten by a shark while bathing near the ship, and died in nine hours. He was buried by his shipmates on the Island of De Loss, near the coast of Africa. Some of the tablets are inscribed with a verse, like this one—of one who fell from aloft and was drowned:

The sea curls over him and the foaming billow
 As his head now rests upon a watery pillow,
 But the spirit divine has ascended to rest,
 To mingle with those who are ransomed and blest.

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The officers and crew of the "Emily Morgan" have erected a stone to the memory of Lewis Ayshire, and this verse is engraved on the tablet:

The ship's bell—deep-toned moaning sound—
Boomed o'er the quiet air,
To call the crew in the sadness round
To attend the funeral prayer.
In his coral grave he's left to rest,
With no urn or willow tree;
His tablet is in the sailor's breast,
This token of which you see.

The following inscription on a tablet shows how generally the men in a family followed the sea in the old days, and how often they were bereaved:

To the Memory of
WILLIAM S. JAY,
Chief mate of bark Gov. Carver, who died on board at sea, Feb. 7,
1863.
Aged 29 years.
Also his Uncles,
GILBERT JAY,
Of the ship Peru of Nantucket, was lost from a boat while in pursuit
of a whale, 1822, aged 27 years;
FRANKLIN JAY,
Mate of ship Pioneer, was lost from his boat while in pursuit of a
whale, Nov. 22, 1832, aged 19 years;
WILLIAM H. SWASEY,
Of schooner T. Cash of Fairhaven, Conn., was lost at sea with all
her crew, April, 1850, aged 39 years.

Melville's reflections upon these tablets will serve to-day. "Oh! ye whose dead lie buried beneath the green grass; who standing among the flowers can say, 'Here, here lies my beloved; ye know not the desolation that broods in bosoms like these. What bitter blanks in those black-bordered marbles which cover no ashes! What despair in those immovable inscriptions! What deadly voids and unbidden infidelities in the lines which seem to gnaw upon all faith and refuse resurrection to the beings who have placelessly perished without a grave. As well might these tablets stand in the grave of elephants as here. But Faith, like a jackal, feeds among

the tombs, and even from these dead doubts she gathers her most vital hope.' "

The chaplain whom Melville heard undoubtedly was Father Mudge. The author calls him Father Mapple in the book. The old pulpit was furnished with a side ladder and man ropes, which Melville affirms the chaplain mounted hand over hand, with reverential dexterity, as if ascending to the main top of his vessel. After gaining the height he stooped over and drew the ladder, leaving him impregnable. The paneled front of that old pulpit was in the likeness of a ship's bluff bows, and the Bible rested on a projecting piece of scroll-work fashioned after a ship's fiddle-headed beak. The service had a nautical flavor which has now departed. The present chaplain is a faithful worker among the sailors, but he would not be expected to instruct his congregation to gather about him in the vernacular which Melville attributes to Father Mapple: "Starboard gangway there! Side away to starboard—larboard gangway to starboard! Midships." The sermon on Jonah reported in the book is declared by those who remember Father Mudge not to bear much resemblance to his style. It is probably the sermon which Melville considered should have been preached to sailor folk.

There is a final description of the New Bedford which Melville saw when he left the harpooners, cannibals, sailors with beaver hats, swallow-tailed coats girdled with sailor belt and sheath knives, or wearing sou'-westers and bombazine cloaks, who infested Water street in the whaling days, which will serve for a description of New Bedford to-day:

The town itself is perhaps the dearest place in all New England. It is a land of oil, true enough; but not like Canaan, a land also of corn and wine. The streets do not run milk, nor in the springtime do they pave them with fresh eggs; yet, in spite this, nowhere in all America will you find more patrician-like houses, parks and gardens, more opulent than in New Bedford. Whence came they? How planted upon this once scraggy scoria of a country. Go and gaze upon the iron emblematical harpoons round yonder lofty mansion, and your question will be answered. Yes, all these brave houses and flowery gardens came from the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian oceans. One and all they were harpooned and dragged up

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hither from the bottom of the sea. In summer time the town is sweet to see, full of fine maples, long avenues of green and gold. And in August, high in air, the beautiful and bountiful horsechestnuts, candelabrawise, proffer the passerby their upright cones of congregated blossoms. So omnipotent is art, which in many a district of New Bedford has superinduced bright terraces of flowers upon the barren refuse rocks thrown aside at creation's final day. And the women of New Bedford, they bloom like their own red roses. But roses only bloom in summer, whereas the fine carnation of their cheeks is perennial as sunlight in the seventh heavens. Elsewhere match that bloom of theirs ye cannot, save in Salem, where they tell me the young girls breathe such musk their sailor sweethearts smell them miles off shore, as though they were drawing nigh the odorous Moluccas instead of the Puritanic sands.

WHALING DISASTERS.—AN OLD SHIP.

When the Civil War broke out much of the wealth tied up in whalers was afloat on various seas. Twenty-five New Bedford whalers, with 2,742 barrels sperm and 4,150 barrels whale oil, were burned by Confederate cruisers. The value of the "Alabama" and "Shenandoah" vessels destroyed is given at \$1,150,000, of the oil at \$500,000, making a total of \$1,650,000. This was a crushing blow to the citizens, because it was a climax to a series of events which made the people of New Bedford apprehensive of the future.

The whaling industry was doomed by the discovery of petroleum, and the citizens knew it. The business men had made an attempt to stem the tide by forming an association to extend the uses of sperm oil and persist in its superiority, but they realized the hopelessness of the undertaking.

On Thanksgiving Day, less than a year before, the citizens had seen "The Stone Fleet," two proud squadrons, the pick of the whalers, sail forth to be sunk at the mouth of southern harbors. It was as if the cotton mills which line the shore to-day were one day loaded aboard scows and carried to sea to be sunk. It was visible evidence of the destruction of the most unique industry which ever created the wealth of a city. And, following upon such a catastrophe, came the news that the few surviving whaleships on the seas were being picked off one by one, burned with their cargoes, and the officers and

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crews made prisoners. And the war was upon the land to add to the encircling gloom.

The news which created such a sensation fifty years ago came from a group of officers and men who had been paroled aboard the "Alabama," put aboard a passing ship and landed in New York. One or two of the owners were wise in their generation and had secured insurance a few days before. The owners of the bark "Virginia," for instance, Captain Frederick Tilton, which was valued at \$24,000, took out insurance for \$11,500 at noon of the very day on which the news was received. The owners of the bark "Elisha Dunbar," Captain David R. Gifford, took out insurance upon her for \$4,250 only two days before; her value was \$21,250.

Captain Tilton told a story which shows that the sending of the stone fleet from New Bedford was a matter of resentment to the privateers and blockade runners, whom the closing of the southern harbor channels was designed to annoy. When taken aboard the "Alabama," Captain Tilton asked to be released, as he was doing no one harm. "You Northerners are destroying our property," retorted Captain Semmes, "and New Bedford people are holding war meetings offering \$200 bounty for volunteers, and sending out stone fleet to blockade our harbors, and I am going to retaliate." Captain Tilton described the personal appearance of Captain Semmes in an interesting way. "He does everything in white kid gloves," he said, "and wears a heavy mustache, which he has waxed by his servant every morning." Captain Tilton told his fellow-citizens that Captain Semmes said he had burned the "Osceola" and nine other whalers before taking the "Virginia." Semmes, according to Captain Tilton, was very short in his remarks, and quick tempered, treating the prisoners brutally and unfeelingly. The under officers were of different dispositions, and some of them confessed to Captain Tilton they wished they were out of the business. Captain Tilton related the story of his capture as follows:

The pirate ship overtook us in lat. 39-100, long. 34-20. She first showed British colors, but when a quarter of a mile from the "Virginia" she set Confederate colors and sent an armed boat's crew aboard. I was informed the vessel was a prize to the "Alabama," and ordered to take my papers and go aboard the steamer. The

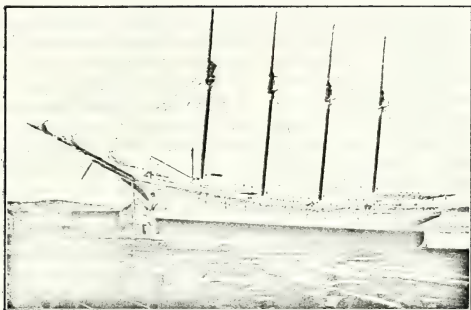
THE BRAVE INDUSTRY OF WHALING

pirates then stripped the ship of all valuable articles, and at 4 p. m. set fire to her. I went on the quarterdeck of the "Alabama" with my son, when they sent us into the lee waist with the crew. All were ironed except two boys, the cook and the steward. I asked if I was to be ironed, and the reply was that the vessel's purser had been in irons aboard the United States vessel and his head shaved. He proposed to retaliate. We were put in the lee waist with an old mattress and a few blankets upon which to lie. The steamer's guns were run out the side and the ports could not be shut. So when the sea was rough and the vessel rolled the water washed the decks and we were wet all of the time. Often we would wake at night with a sea pouring over us. Our food consisted of beef, pork, rice, ham, tea, coffee and bread. Only one of our irons was taken off at a time. We were always under guard. On October 3d we fell in with the schooner "Emily Farnham," to which we were transferred after signing a parole.

Many years after, another generation, in many instances, received a windfall from the payment of the "Alabama" claims. There were many survivors also living who profited at a time when they were in need of money, and, as it turned out, the men were amply compensated for all they lost and suffered. The testimony before the Court of Claims is a marvel in the revelations of the outfits which the sailors carried in their chests. Captain Semmes may have been a dandy, but the humblest sailor could have put him in the shade, as far as clothes were concerned, if the schedule of the outfits as sworn to at court were honest.

Another terrible disaster followed in September, 1871, when one day thirty-three New Bedford ships, crushed or frozen, were abandoned in the Arctic ocean. Twelve hundred men were there shipwrecked, but all of them were ultimately rescued. With the oil and bone which the ships had on board they were valued at \$1,090,000. In 1876 twelve whalers were abandoned in the Arctic, and in 1888 five more were lost.

Steam whaling prospered for a time, whalebone selling at fancy prices, but there is no longer a market for whalebone. A group of men cornered all the whalebone in the country and shipped it to New Bedford, which is the world's market place for Arctic bone, and held it at five dollars a pound. They held it. The use of whalebone had finally become restricted to corset manufacture and to



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some extent in dresses. In the old days when whalebone was cheap and hoopskirts were in vogue it was commonly used in the latter, as well as in dresses and stays and corsets. Whips were made of it, and it was used for umbrella frames. Steel was employed later as a substitute for most of these uses, but for a long time after the wider utility had disappeared it was employed by the best corset and dressmakers, and there was a large market abroad, particularly in France. But when the price was put up to five dollars a pound the corsetmakers declared it prohibitive and turned to substitutes. Now "bones" for corsets and dresses are made of a celluloid substance which is said to be quite as good, if not superior. The whalemén blame "the Trust" for the ruin of the industry, but while the high price may have hastened the day of substitutes the substitutes would have been produced in any event. Moreover, the owners of the whalebone supply declare that in order to make any profit bone must command five dollars a pound. This does not represent cost, they say, if the risks of the business and the loss of vessels engaged in the Arctic industry are considered. Arctic whaling scarcely gave the owner of the ship a gambler's chance. A ship might encounter one closed season after another when the ships could not get to the eastward, and vessels were so frequently caught and crushed in the ice floes that the industry as a whole was seldom profitable. Still there was always the chance that a vessel might make a catch worth a hundred thousand dollars in a summer's work, and this was sufficient incentive for the daring whalemén.

Whalebone requires constant attention. It must be scraped every few months or it loses its virtue. So the value of it constantly deteriorates, and that is one reason, maybe, why "the Trust" finds it difficult to dispose of its bone. "The Trust" does not send ships into the Arctic now. The few vessels that go are largely old vessels, bought cheap by old whaling captains, who finance their own voyages. The opportunities for trading kept the industry alive longer than otherwise, but the natives prefer to trade for rum, and the revenue cutters prevent the whalers from engaging in trade on that basis. So most of the Eskimo trade now goes to the shore traders, who are under less close surveillance.

Since the great war, prices of sperm oil have gone up and a fleet

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of schooners is making handsome profits on Atlantic voyages. These are short voyages of a duration of a year or two. In the old days voyages usually lasted four or five years, which gives point to an old whaler's story: A New Bedford captain had spent a jolly night with his companions, and at daylight started to go aboard his ship. One of his companions grabbed him by the arm as he was about to leave the dock in a small boat. "I say, captain, you've forgotten to kiss your wife good-bye." "Hell!" said the captain, "I'm only going to be gone two years!"

A few of the old ships are still engaged. The whaling bark "Charles W. Morgan" is receiving especial consideration in these days, since she is the only typical old whaling square-rigger in port, and there will never be any more of them. One or two remnants of the fleet are at sea, and put in an occasional appearance here, but none are so picturesque and typical of old whaling models as the "Morgan." The "Morgan" is seventy-seven years old, and is still in commission. She was built in 1841 by the man for whom she was named. Her first captain was named Norton, and she sailed September 4, 1841, and arrived back April 1, 1845, with 1,600 barrels of sperm oil, 800 barrels of whale oil, and 10,000 pounds of whalebone. She sailed again on January 10, 1846, under command of Captain J. D. Sampson, and returned December 9, 1848, with 2,100 barrels of sperm oil and 100 barrels of whale oil, having sent home seventy barrels of sperm oil. Her ownership was then transferred to Edward Mott Robinson, the father of Hetty Green. Captain Sampson still commanded her on a voyage to the Pacific, which started on June 5, 1849. In May, 1853, she returned with 1,121 barrels of oil. The firm of I. Howland, Jr., & Company owned her when she sailed the following September for the North Pacific in command of Captain Tristram P. Ripley. She returned in 1856 with 12,000 pounds of whalebone, having sent home 10,000 pounds of bone, 1,958 barrels of whale oil and 268 barrels of sperm. Captain Thomas J. Fisher commanded her in 1856, when she again sailed for the North Pacific, returning three years later with 28,700 pounds of whalebone, 18,000 barrels of whale oil, and 135 barrels of sperm. Next she sailed on a four years' voyage in command of James A. Hamilton, returning from the North Pacific in 1863 with 28,834

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pounds of whalebone, 4,080 barrels of whale oil, and 135 barrels of sperm. In December, 1863, the "Morgan" came into the ownership of J. & W. R. Wing. Captain Thomas C. Landers took her to the North Pacific and she returned four years later with 13,200 pounds of bone and 1,094 barrels of whale oil. Her seventh voyage was to the North Pacific, once more in command of Captain George Athearn, when she took 3,000 pounds of bone; and in 1871 she went to the Indian ocean in command of Captain John M. Tinkham, and took 1,600 pounds of bone. Last year she went to Desolation islands on a sea elephant expedition. The "Morgan" repeatedly rounded Cape Horn, but these experiences never weakened her, and she has continued making long voyages to the stormiest seas in her career.



The Northwest Territory and the Ordinance of 1787

CHARLES A. INGRAHAM, CAMBRIDGE, N. Y.



THE Northwest Territory! What visions of a fertile wilderness lying unreclaimed at our doors did this term suggest to the American colonists! A vast equilateral triangle with one point at the junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi and broadening out in the embrace of those noble rivers, having for its northern boundary four of the great lakes and comprising within its borders the coming States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. This group of commonwealths enjoy the distinction of having been born as the first fruits of the Revolution; five radiant sisters to stand as monuments and shining testimonies to the faith and valor of George Rogers Clark and the pioneers associated with him.

Never before had there been so tempting a territorial prize;—vast and fertile prairies, beautiful and fragrant with wild flowers; limitless forests, grandly silent through their shadowy aisles; riches untold of copper and iron and coal; magnificent rivers abounding with fish, and leading into the interior of these elysian lands given over to the Indian, the buffalo and beasts of prey; while along the northern border were the mighty lakes, connecting with navigable waters the northwest and northeast angles, and these within easy reach of the southern extremity by means of the Ohio and Mississippi and their tributaries. An ideal habitation for man, abounding in all that makes life opulent and successful.

And those majestic waters of the north had, besides their wealth of fish and transportation facilities, grand and inspiring elements of themselves:—Superior, with her fifteen hundred miles of rock-ribbed shores, noble, towering headlands and lofty, frowning cliffs; Huron, with her blue-tinted crystal waters and her thousands upon



Clarke's expedition to the Illinois Country, (1778), under the authority of Virginia, now the Northwestern Territory.

thousands of islands; Michigan, reaching her friendly arm and genial tempering breath far into the interior; Erie, with her shallow, turbid waters, storm-smitten and tempest-tossed, sublime but dangerous; all this, together with the illusive mirage dwelling like enchanting dreams above the wide expanse of waters, associated the northern limits with reverential awe, mystery and beauty.

It had been a fond dream of the French dwelling in Canada to possess themselves of this desirable region, as well as of all the lands west of the Alleghenies, extending to the Mississippi and reaching on the north to the great lakes. The domain had early become known to them through the exploration of John Nicolet, a Frenchman in the employ of Champlain. He made his journey in 1635, his purpose being primarily to conciliate and secure to the French the Indian tribes inhabiting the land, and to gain their trade. He returned with an encouraging report, and accompanied with seven of the natives as specimens of the tribes. But Champlain saw no further fruition of his ardent hope, for he died on Christmas Day of the same year in which Nicolet visited the coveted territory.

The French from the first were industrious in planting a cordon of settlements and forts through their alleged possessions, following the line of the great lakes and the Mississippi river, and at later periods establishing posts in the interior, notably Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monogahela rivers, which they had captured from the English. A source of weakness, however, in their work of colonization was, that their efforts were confined principally to fostering trade and religion; while agriculture and the mechanical employments were for the most part neglected. But the Catholic religious worship with its emblematic ritual was attractive to the Indians, and with the cordiality of the French, their presents, and the conveniences of trade which they supplied, they easily made friends of the tribes.

On the other hand, the English dwelling along the comparatively sterile coast of the Atlantic were deficient in the qualities with which to ingratiate themselves into the good favor of the Indians, their manners being less cordial and their religious worship simple and unadorned. Yet, Sir William Johnson as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, by the employment of the gracious methods of the French,

made himself master of the great Iroquois confederacy, controlling them many years in fealty to the English.

From the year 1748, when, with the organization of the first Ohio Land Company, the great struggle for the Northwest Territory began, until 1759, when with the fall of Quebec the French claims were rendered void and French authority throughout America interdicted, there was battle upon battle, massacre upon massacre, fearful chapters portraying the French with their Indian allies fighting for supremacy and the control of the vast and virgin wilderness. For the English had become the aggressors; plain, vigorous, fearless, determined people, with domestic and agricultural ambitions. Many were immigrants from the north of Europe, and, with the growth of population, the enticing lands to the west were inviting the people, and they responded. They felt, too, that they were the rightful owners of the Territory, for royal grants to the colonies had given them titles extending to the Pacific.

During the Revolution, acting largely on the prudent policy of gaining possession of the Northwest Territory in order to be able to enter a valid claim for it when peace should be declared, the colony of Virginia in 1778 sent George Rogers Clark at his own request on an expedition against the settlements located in the disputed lands. He took Kaskaskia on the Mississippi and other places in the vicinity, following up the advantage by compelling the surrender of the French troops at Vincennes on the Wabash. He also erected a fort on the Ohio, from which as a nucleus grew the city of Louisville. The colony of Virginia, as the result of Clark's success, claimed all this territory and constituted it the county of Illinois. In the deliberations of the peace commissioners at the Treaty of Paris, at the close of the Revolution, the British representatives contended that the Northwest Territory should remain the dependency of their nation, but when it had been conclusively shown that Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and other posts had been taken by Clark and were held by Virginia, giving the possession of the territory to that colony, the objections were withdrawn and the treaty was signed.

To General Clark, therefore, belongs the honor of securing to the Union the Northwest Territory. It was he that first proposed the expedition, appealing for aid to the Virginia Legislature, and, hav-

ing been refused, laid the proposition before the Governor, Henry Clay, who granted him all the help that was at his disposal. He was in all respects an exceptional man;—physically robust, with a noble carriage, dignified manner and fearless, indefatigable determination. Unlike many who have possessed military abilities and great hardihood and resourcefulness in the presence of difficulty and danger, Clark had a wide political grasp and was at home in the business of colonization schemes and territorial acquisitions. His contemporaries accorded him, while in the full tide of his success and honors, ample distinction, bestowing upon him the sobriquet "The Hannibal of the West"; but his invaluable services to the country were in his later years forgotten, and he was left to pine and die in poverty. The account given in his memoirs of the expedition against Vincennes, in which he dramatically recounts the extraordinary hardships and perils which he and his men endured, is a classic in that field of literature. Clark died at his home, "Mulberry Hill," three miles south of Louisville, on the Kentucky shore, February 18, 1818, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

James A. Garfield, in his address on "The Western Reserve," eulogizes Clark and animadverts on his neglect by the people:

"It is a stain upon the honor of our country that such a man—the leader of pioneers who made the first lodgement on the site now occupied by Louisville, who was in fact the founder of the state of Kentucky, and who by his personal foresight and energy gave nine great states to the republic—was allowed to sink under a load of debt incurred for the honor and glory of his country."

The allotment of the lands of the Northwest Territory proved to the national government, on account of the indefinite and conflicting claims of different states, a difficult task. Several states, as has been pointed out, held charters entitling them to lands extending across the continent, while Virginia laid claim to what is now embraced in the states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Thus, there were overlapping titles and the situation hopelessly baffled solution. Earnest appeals were made by the government, as the only means of settling the difficulty and of opening the wilderness to purchasers, that the different states relinquish their claims to the national authorities. This request having been complied with, the Continental Congress sitting in New York, erected the domain as the Northwest Territory and passed an Ordinance for its government on July 13, 1787.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY AND THE ORDINANCE OF 1787

The Ordinance had its advent during the time that the Constitutional Convention was deliberating in Philadelphia, which juxtaposition has doubtless served to eclipse the merits and importance of this notable instrument. It deserves to stand as one of the three immortal legacies from the Revolution: The Declaration of Independence, the Ordinance for the Government of the Northwest Territory, and the Constitution of the United States. Well has the Ordinance been called, "The Magna Charta of the West."

Its distinguishing features are its briefness and certain sociological requirements expressed in unequivocal language, in marked contrast to the voluminous national constitution whose framers studiously avoided religious and ethical references. But the Ordinance in its second paragraph, as if in haste to eliminate an aggravated and chief grievance, prohibited the operation of the English law of primogeniture in these words:

"Be it ordained, That the estates both of resident and nonresident proprietors in the said territory, dying intestate, shall descend to and be distributed among their children, and the descendants of a deceased child, in equal parts . . . and where there shall be no children, or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin, in equal degree."

Six "Articles of Compact," were incorporated to remain forever binding between the original states and the Territory, for the purpose, among others, of "extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis upon which these republics, their laws and constitutions are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory." . . .

The essentials in the compacts are as follows:

Art. 1. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

Art. 2. The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature, and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law.

Art. 3. Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encour-

aged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent.

Art. 4. The said territory, and the states which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America. . . .

Art. 5. There shall be formed in the said territory, not less than three nor more than five states. . . .

Art. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. . . .

The article prohibiting slavery was, perhaps, the most far-reaching, important and beneficial of the compacts; after having been incorporated into many State papers it was finally placed as an amendment in the constitution of the United States.

Though Congress deliberated but the space of four days upon the Ordinance, it is considered by jurists and publicists of the highest distinction as one of the greatest of constitutional declarations. The appreciations of a few are quoted:

Justice Story: "The laws of Massachusetts, as to the rights of persons, property, etc., were made the root or germ of all our territorial laws east of the Mississippi, by being made the material parts of the Ordinance of Congress for the government of the United States territories northwest of the Ohio, and from time to time extended to their other territories, as will appear from examining the Ordinance itself." . . . "To him (Mr. Dane) belongs the glory of the formation of the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, which constitutes the fundamental law of the states northwest of the Ohio. It is a monument of political wisdom and sententious skillfulness of expression. It was adopted unanimously by Congress, according to his original draft, with scarcely the alteration of a single word."

Senator Hoar: "One of the three title deeds of American constitutional liberty."

"Judge Thomas M. Cooley, after a life spent under its beneficent influences, stamped it as immortal for the grand results which have followed from its adoption, not less than for the wisdom and far-seeing statesmanship that conceived and gave form to its provisions. 'No charter of government in the history of any people,' says he, 'has so completely withstood the tests of time and experience. . . . Its principles were for all time. . . . It has been the fitting model for all subsequent territorial government in America.' "

. . . "Who shall trace the origin of the Ordinance! Like a tree

its roots were deep down in free soil, and its leaves drank nourishment from an air filled with the makings of constitutions. Jefferson had planted and Monroe and Rufus King had watered the tender plant." ("The Northwest Under Three Flags," by Charles Moore.)

The authorship of the Ordinance was claimed by Daniel Webster and Justice Story for Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, while Hayne and Benton, desiring the honor for the South, held that Thomas Jefferson wrote it, and certain leading works state that he drafted the instrument. Dane, however, has practically a clear title to the distinction, he having been chairman of the special committee that reported the Ordinance to Congress, while Jefferson was absent from the country, serving as Minister to France (1784-1789). Dane was a Harvard graduate, an able lawyer, and in later years made himself further distinguished by publishing a learned legal work in nine volumes entitled "Abridgement and Digest of American Law."

But the honor of securing the passage of the Ordinance must be divided with Rev. Manasseh Cutler, of Ipswich, Massachusetts, a graduate of Yale, a man of extraordinary and diversified gifts, and active and enterprising in practical and political affairs. Besides his theological education, he acquired a good knowledge of medicine, and filled for a considerable time the place of a physician as well as minister in his parish; he had a store of legal information, and excelled as a botanist; added to all this erudition was his acquaintance with general science, of which he was a diligent student and writer.

Dr. Cutler having in 1786 become associated with a group of men proposing to purchase lands northwest of the Ohio river and to settle there, was very active in Congress in securing the passage of the Ordinance, knowing that it would give a basis of law and an element of security to the colony. While Mr. Dane as a member of Congress was active in popularizing the Ordinance in that body, Dr. Cutler in the lobby was exerting all his power as a shrewd politician to carry it through. The credit has been given him of being the author of the social features of the instrument, though Mr. Dane is said to have been the sole originator of the section prohibiting slavery.

Dr. Cutler as agent of the Ohio Company having purchased 1,500,000 acres of land in the Territory and on the Ohio at the junction with it of the Muskingum river, led a party there and made a settlement at Marietta on April 7, 1788. The event of the setting-out of the expedition from Dr. Cutler's house with forty-five men in December, 1787, has been compared in importance with the sailing of the "Mayflower." A prominent feature of the cavalcade was a canvas-covered wagon upon which were inscribed the words, "Ohio, for Marietta on the Muskingum," indicating that the settlement had a name before it had an existence, and even prior to the expedition. The name it was to bear, however, was natural and appropriate, standing for Marie Antoinette, the French queen, who was admired throughout the States for her influence in inducing the king Louis XVI to make an alliance with the colonists during the Revolution. At a later time Dr. Cutler rode to Marietta in a sulky, making the trip of 750 miles in twenty-nine days. But he did not prove so good a pioneer on the field as he had been in making the preparations and in leading the way thither, for, true to his scientific predilection, he devoted himself more to the study of the prehistoric mounds of the vicinity than to the affairs of the infant settlement. After a stay of a few weeks he returned to his home in the East, and the work of carrying on the building up of the settlement fell to General Rufus Putnam.

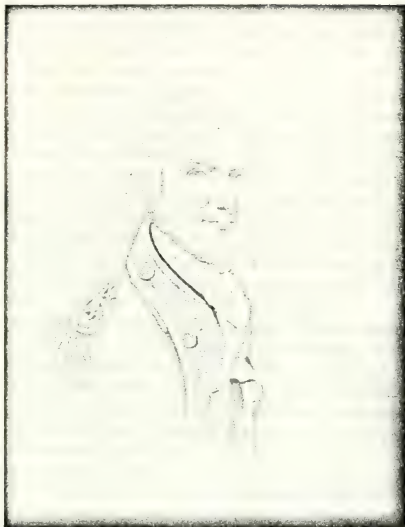
As superintendent of the Ohio Company, Putnam applied himself to the work of establishing the colony at Marietta, and having been a man of wide experience in the handling of practical affairs of an important public character, he made a success of the undertaking. He was a cousin of Israel Putnam, and a self-made man who had become distinguished from his military and engineering connections with the Revolution. He had been a leading spirit in the movement to settle the Northwest Territory, and had presided at the meeting held in Boston on March 1st, 1786, at which the Ohio Company was formed. Putnam accomplished more, at least in the way of continuous service in the preliminary agitation, and for the settlement and development of the eastern part of the Northwest Territory, of which Marietta was the first permanent town, than any other, not excepting Dane and Cutler. In after years he occupied a judicial

place in the Territory, and under the national government held important military and civil offices, and finally sealed his devotion to the home of his adoption by closing his career at Marietta on May 1st, 1824.

This sketch would be lacking without a few remarks concerning the Western Reserve. As has been stated, several of the colonies had been granted in their royal charters unlimited bounds to the west, even to the Pacific. In 1786 Connecticut ceded to the United States all her western claims except those lands lying in the present state of Ohio north of parallel 41° and extending one hundred and twenty miles beyond the western border of Pennsylvania. The reservation was called in the early days, "New Connecticut." From its western part were set off by the Legislature five hundred thousand acres for the reimbursement of those who had suffered losses through fire and depredations of the enemy in the Revolution, and were hence called "The Fire Lands." Practically all the remainder of the Reserve, consisting of about three million acres were disposed of in 1795 to the Connecticut Land Company for forty cents per acre, General Moses Cleaveland becoming the general agent of the association. In the spring of the following year the Company sent a corps of surveyors and a company of about forty persons to occupy the newly-purchased lands, the route having been from Schenectady, the starting place of the expedition, up the Mohawk to Oneida lake, to Lake Ontario, to Lake Erie, and thence to their destination. The journey was made with privations and hardships. At this time there was but a single family living at Buffalo, while what is now the State of Ohio was, except for Marietta and settlements on its eastern border, a wilderness country. Five years later the number of settlements in the Reserve had increased to thirty-two, though no government worthy of the name had been inaugurated. It was deemed expedient, therefore, to remit the jurisdiction of civil affairs to the national government, the State of Connecticut maintaining its land claims, from the subsequent sale of which it derived its school fund. A territorial government was established at Marietta in 1788 by General St. Clair, the governor, and in 1800 Connecticut relinquished all her rights to the United States.

The greatest municipal monument of the Western Reserve is the

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY



John H. Clair

First Governor of the Northwest Territory

city of Cleveland, laid out and founded by Moses Cleaveland in 1796 as agent of the Connecticut Land Company. There is a tradition that in 1830, when the first newspaper of the city, "The Cleveland Advertiser," was making up its first issue, that the printer, finding that the heading of the sheet was too long for the form, eliminated a letter "a" from the name, leaving it "Cleveland," which thereafter became the established spelling. Western Reserve University, of that city, perpetuates the remembrance of the New England influences still potent in Ohio and which lend a distinct Connecticut atmosphere to her social, educational and religious institutions.

In this fragmentary review of the history connected with the acquirement of the Northwest Territory, of the birth and character of the Ordinance for its government, and of the beginnings of its settlement, it has been possible to indicate but a few of the leading events. Associated with the subject are conditions and experiences of human life which have disappeared never to return:—the deep, primeval forest; the elusive, treacherous savage; the politic, shrewd and covetous French; the American pioneers pressing on, pressing on, undaunted, facing danger and hardship cheerfully;—days of romance, ardent hope and lust of land; primitive days of the coonskin cap, the steel, tinder and flint, the hunting knife and the long, unerring rifle; when meditation was without opportunity, and action first in demand and valiantly responded to everywhere;—days of heroism and the steady nerve and the invincible heart. Such were the men who entered and subdued the Northwest Territory;—a Titan race, not only physically, but intellectually and ethically and spiritually; at the very thresholds of the wilderness they erected the schoolhouse and the church. There lives for the greater part are forgotten, but they live in the noble manhood and womanhood of tens of thousands who inhabit, and in the great institutions which adorn, five shining commonwealths of the United States, the foundations of which they worthily laid.

Editorial

PUBLICATION RESUMED

With the first number of the volume for 1917, *AMERICANA* lapsed on account of a fire in the printing house, involving the destruction of certain material. The Magazine was then taken over by the American Historical Society, Inc., which produces the present number and will conduct the publication in the future. The illuminated cover and new typographical features add greatly to its beauty in a mechanical way; while the various papers presented, by writers of ability and discernment, will prove assurance of a high standard for the future.

The change of proprietorship came so recently, that, taken in connection with printing house embarrassments incident to fuel conservation, publication of the Magazine has been delayed. The next number will be out of press at proper time—April 1st, and thereafter on the first day of each calendar quarter.

THE GREAT WAR

As this magazine goes to press, the country is just beginning to feel something of the realities of war, and is meeting the emergency with a quiet courage devoid of that noisy enthusiasm which does not always certify real determination.

We are of those who find no fault with President or the Congress for not bringing the country into war much sooner. Provocation there certainly was, long ago, in the awful *Lusitania* crime, in the similar outrages perpetrated upon American persons and property, and in the perfidy of German diplomats of high rank who, while enjoying governmental and personal hospitalities and confidences, abused their privileges by spy work and incendiarism which made a common cutthroat and burglar a high-type gentleman in comparison with them. President Wilson recognized the importance of

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one of the first of legal maxims—of coming into court with clean hands; of holding his country in such moral attitude that at the final assize of nations, its character would stand immaculate; he, too, alone knew what pitfalls of diplomacy and intrigue were to be avoided; and he measured with wise balance what the country's needs and resources were. Procrastination was morally right, and practically judicious.

When the President moved, he moved with firm tread, and patriotic determination. On his initiative, Congress adopted a joint declaration setting forth that "a state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial German Government," and which he signed on April 6th, 1917. On December 7th following, similar action was taken with reference to the Austro-Hungarian Government. The President wisely wrought upon Congress and upon the national sentiment and effected the selective service method for recruiting an immense army, instead of the volunteer system of former war times. Under its operations, the close of the year saw more than a million and a half men in the army, and half a million more in naval and aviation service. That these men are admirable in physique and spirit, is known to every one who has visited a camp or barracks.

The recruiting of an army is the least labor of war times. The present writer served through the entire War for the Union, and knows whereof he speaks. The worst enemy the soldier in the field is to encounter, is not the foe, but privations and disease which sap animal strength and dull the spirit. Our boys of today will overcome these, as did their ancestors of Revolutionary and Civil War times. There will be tremendous expenditures of money, and the people will be called upon to make large tax payments, and practice unfamiliar economies. From 1861 to 1865 comparatively few families could indulge in coffee or tea, and calico was a costly article, to say nothing of better quality goods. These were the conditions in the North; the Southerners, whose sons are now bravely battling side by side with the sons of the Northerners who fought them fifty and more years ago, suffered much keener hardships.

The vast causes at stake and the results to be accomplished, are worth all they will cost. For every good that comes to man, a price

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must be paid—in means, in self-denials, and sacrifice. In this crisis, as was said by the Great Lincoln at a crucial time in our nation's history, "Having chosen our course, without guile and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God, and go forward without fear and with manly hearts."

IN MEMORIAM

At the annual meeting of the American Historical Society, held January 8, 1918, report was made of the death, on January 6, (two days preceding) of Mr. William S. Pelletreau, and Messrs. J. A. Ellis, Edward O. Lewis and Metcalf B. Hatch were appointed a committee to draft an appropriate tribute to his memory. The following was reported and adopted by unanimous vote:

In Mr. William S. Pelletreau we recognize not only an accomplished historian, genealogist and antiquarian, but an old-school gentleman of the finest type. Well past the scriptural years of usefulness, three score and ten, his mental faculties were undimmed; and he was pursuing his lifelong labors with his usual industry and enthusiasm when he was suddenly stricken down.

The products of his pen during his many years' association with us, are of enduring value. His published volumes have been numerous, and his narratives for our many historical and genealogical works are numbered by hundreds; while there is still remaining to us many of his manuscripts which will yet pass into permanent form.

To all his labors he brought ripe experience, discriminating judgment, and unflagging industry.

His personal qualities endeared him to each one of us. He impressed his personality and idealism upon all with whom he came in contact. In his passing away, we have lost a highly valued friend, and the community a figure of unique worth, and, as an annalist, one of the chiefest ornaments of his day.

MILITARY STRENGTH IN WAR FOR THE UNION

A note from a reader in a distant State asks information as to the number of troops serving under the government during the War for the Union. It is a topic which, since the beginning of the pres-

ent war, has been variously treated from time to time through the press and by public speakers. The editor of this Magazine will, in order that his judgment may be properly measured, be pardoned for saying that he served throughout the entire struggle, as enlisted man and staff officer, and that he has for many years past made a careful study of the subject, impelled thereto in large measure because of false impressions left by large figures not properly analyzed.

The War Department figures most generally brought into evidence, show the total number of officers and men called into army service by President Lincoln, between April 15, 1861, when he issued his first call for 75,000 men for three months, and his last call of December 19, 1864, was 2,774,208, this great number including several thousands of militia called for home defense in various States, and for other service not in the field. This aggregate the War Department, by reduction to a three years standard, puts at 2,320,372; the various calls were not for a uniform period, but for nine months, two years, and three years, as the immediate emergency dictated. These figures, however, convey no accurate idea of the number of men actually under arms and on the battle line. For instance, the largest number of officers and men borne on the army rolls, was on January 1st, 1863—1,068,199, of whom 269,389 were absent sick or on special service, reducing the effective force on the battle line, on garrison duty and protecting river and railroad communications, to 798,810, and these distributed among all the States in insurrection, on the Atlantic, Pacific and Gulf coasts, and on the western plains.

To gain a more accurate idea of the real numerical strength of the army, it would be necessary to take into consideration facts upon which statistics shed no light. The War Department "reduction to a three years' service standard" is based upon the grand total of enlistments during the war. But in many thousands of cases, a single individual appears on the rolls as two, three, or even four men. The majority of the seventy-five thousand three months men of April, 1861, re-enlisted under the three years' call which followed, and each of these is borne upon two rolls as though he were two different men. Similarly, in 1863-64, thousands of men

whose periods of service were expiring, re-enlisted as "Veteran Volunteers," and were credited upon a new roll. During the two years cited, more particularly, a great number of commissioned officers left the service, their term having expired, and non-commissioned officers were promoted to fill these vacancies; in each case the new officer was discharged from service "to accept commission," and being mustered thereunder, again appears upon a new roll. There is no possible way of ascertaining, under these conditions, what deduction should be made from the grand aggregate of enlistments, to ascertain the actual number of men.

The inquiry of our correspondent, which prompts this disquisition, touches the question of casualties during the four years of war, 1861-1865. The War Department statistics are as follows: Officers and men, killed in action, 67,058; died from wounds received in action 43,012—making the total battle losses 110,080. In addition, 224,586 officers and men died from disease. There were 391 cases of suicide, and 267 military executions for desertion and other crimes; 9,058 accidental deaths, including 4,114 by drowning; murdered, 520; deaths from various causes, 2,515, and from causes not stated, 12,121, making the aggregate of deaths in service, 359,538. The number of officers and men wounded in action is not given, except as to deaths resulting therefrom; at the usual ratio of wounded to dead, the number would be about 200,000 in all, including the 43,012 who died from wounds as stated above.

NOTE—The following is heraldic description of Arms of De Molines and Font families, mentioned on page 10:

De Molines Arms—Azure a cross moline or, pierced of the field.

Crest—A Sacracen's head afrontee couped below the shoulders proper, wreathed about the temples.

Supporters—Two lions collared and ducally crowned.

Motto—Vivere sat vincere.

Font Arms, Catalonia, Spain—Azure a fountain composed of a basin standing in another basin, spouting four jets of water, a l argent.



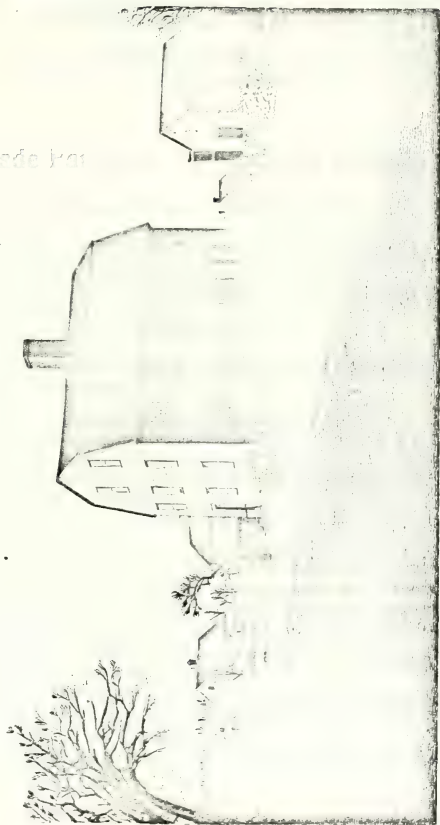
Wm Lawton Stuck



WILLIAM L. SLADE

Man of Large Affairs; born September 6, 1817; died
July 29, 1895.

the Slade Farm



SLADE HOMESTEAD



AMERICANA



APRIL, 1918

The Slade Family in England and America

The following is the heraldic description of the Slade arms:

Arms—Per fesse argent and sable a pale counterchanged, and three horses' heads erased, two and one, of the second, a chief ermine. Thereon two bombs fired proper.

Crest—On a mount vert a horse's head erased sable, encircled with a chain in form of an arch, gold.

Motto—*Fidus et audax*—(Faithful and bold.)

The Slade coat-of-arms, as it was originally registered during the time of Queen Elizabeth was:

Arms—Argent, three horses' heads sable, a chief gules.

Crest—A horse's head, erased sable. After the struggle and the corruption of the time of Cromwell, and probably due to honor gained on the battle-field, two bombs have been charged, and the chief changed from red to ermine. A pale, counterchanged, has also been added upon the field, parted per fesse argent and sable.

The signification of these arms is easily understood; sable (black) indicates a family of remote antiquity or of old lineage. Silver-paviti, the pale, typifies the pales of wood used by the Crusaders, and is of infrequent occurrence in heraldry. The chief, occupying one-third of the field at top, is considered the most honorable ordinary; it is a charge in heraldry, granted a chieftain or a commander of troops; red denotes courage.

Descendants of the family are found in Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, Herefordshire, and in the county of Somerset, England.

In the old English annals and records the name of Slade appears

THE SLADE FAMILY IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA

in the year 1300 in the Writs of Parliament, where Nicholas de la Slade is mentioned. In 1327 occurs the entry: "Henry atte Slade, County Somerset, also John atte Slade, Chronicle Record, 1460; Richard atte Slade, Chronicle Record, 1505; Mary, daughter of John Slade, baptized in Kensington Church, in 1596; Ammiel Slade, County Devon, registered in the University of Oxford, England, 1615; Francis Slade, County Berks, Chronicle Record, 1615; Grace, daughter of George Slayd, baptized in Kensington Church, 1645." James Slade was a dean of Chester Cathedral, England, and has a memorial window there.

Among prominent members of the Slade family are the following named: Sir Adolphus Slade, writer on travels, 1838; William Adams Slade, editor and author on history; William Slade, Vermont State Papers, 1786-1859; Mary B. C. Slade, writer of Sunday School Sermons; John Slade, M. D., Memoirs, 1836; Holmes Slade, Universalist Catechism, 1886; Frederick Slade, authority on Locomotive Engineering; Felix Slade, famous for Collection of Glass formed by him; Architect Slade, who planned the laying of Back Bay; Edmond John Wane Slade, author of a short history of Ironclad Trains, Washington, 1883; Dennison Rogers Slade, writer; Daniel Dennison Slade, author of "Genealogy of Major-General Daniel Dennison," and "Twelve Days in the Saddle"; Charles Slade, "Speeches"; Ann Maria Slade, a pious woman, her biography published in Fall River, 1837.

The foregoing is taken from a statement given by Ragnar Mellbin, H. A., Boston, Massachusetts, in March, 1909.

The Slade family is extremely ancient, and was originally known as de la Slade. The origin of the name is an interesting one, and is found in the old term, "a slade," which meant much the same as our modern term, glade—a small strip of green sward in a woodland. We have the old rhyme, from the "Robin Hood Ballads:"

"It had been better of William a Trent
To have been abed with sorrowe,
Than to be that day in greenwood slade
To meet with Little John's arrow."

The derivation of the name from the common noun is obvious in such names as Robert de Greneslade (of the Greenslade); William

de la Morslade (of the Moorland Slade); Richard de Wytshade, and many others. The name is of purely local origin, and its original bearers took the surname from localities bearing the name of Slade, when the adoption of surnames became general.

The surname Slade was notable in many of its various forms in England during the Middle Ages, and in still later periods.

The Slade family has been continuous in America for more than two hundred and fifty years, during which time it has played a prominent part in the life and affairs of New England. The name has been very prominently identified with industrial and civic affairs in Southeastern Massachusetts, and in the city of Fall River, and it is with the branch of the family, known as the Fall River Slades, that this article will deal.

I. *William Slade*, the founder of the Slade family in this country, is thought to have been born in Wales. He was a son of Edward Slade, of Wales, whose residence there is thought to have been but temporary, since the family for many generations previous had been of Somersetshire, England. William Slade was a resident of Newport, Rhode Island, as early as the year 1659, when there appears the record of his admission as freeman of the colony. He was one of the early settlers of the Shawomet purchase, which included that part of Swansea, Massachusetts, which afterward became the town of Somerset. As early as the year 1680, when the first record book of the town begins, Mr. Slade is recorded as having long been a resident there. The meetings of the proprietors were held at his house after their discontinuance at Plymouth in 1677. William Slade was a large land owner, and included in his holdings the ferry across the Taunton river, which has ever since been known as Slade's Ferry. This ferry remained in possession of the Slade family until the bridging of the river in 1876, and was operated up to that time by William L. and Jonathan Slade.

William Slade, the founder, married Sarah Holmes, daughter of Rev. Obadiah Holmes, noted divine of Rehoboth. (See Holmes II.) Children: 1. Mary, born May, 1689. 2. William, born in 1692. 3. Edward, mentioned below. 4. Elizabeth, born December 2, 1695. 6. Hannah, born July 15, 1697. 7. Martha, born February 27, 1699.

8. Sarah. 9. Phebe, born September 25, 1701. 10. Jonathan, born August 3, 1703. 11. Lydia, born October 8, 1706.

II. *Edward Slade*, son of William and Sarah (Holmes) Slade, was born June 14, 1694, at Swansea, and was a member of the Society of Friends. He married (first) in 1717, Elizabeth Anthony, by whom he had one son, William, born September 25, 1718. He married (second) December 6, 1720, Phebe, daughter of Samuel and Sarah (Sherman) Chase; and (third) Deborah Buffum. Children of the second marriage: 1. Samuel, mentioned below. 2. Elizabeth, born April 29, 1723. 3. Joseph, born November 16, 1724. 4. Sarah, born in February, 1726. Children of the third marriage: 5. Edward, born November 11, 1728. 6. Philip, born April 19, 1730. 7. Phebe, born July 4, 1737. 8. Mercy, born in 1744.

III. *Samuel Slade*, son of Edward and Phebe (Chase) Slade, was born in Swansea, Massachusetts, November 26, 1721. He lived on the old Slade place all his life, and inherited from his uncle, Captain Jonathan Slade (who died without issue) the old Slade's Ferry already referred to. Samuel Slade was a man of much enterprise, and engaged in several occupations. Beside the farming which he carried on upon the homestead, he operated the ferry and conducted a blacksmith's shop. He married Mercy Buffum, daughter of Jonathan and Mercy Buffum, who was born July 23, 1723, at Salem, Massachusetts, and died November 18, 1797, at Swansea. Their children, all born in Swansea, were: 1. Jonathan, mentioned below. 2. Robert, born October 7, 1746. 3. Henry, born August 20, 1748. 4. Edward, born September 27, 1749. 5. Samuel, born January 20, 1753. 6. Caleb, born June 24, 1755. 7. Buffum, born May 31, 1757. 8. William, born October 18, 1758. 9. Benjamin, born March 14, 1762.

IV. *Jonathan Slade*, son of Samuel and Mercy (Buffum) Slade, born at Swansea, Massachusetts, August 13, 1744, where he passed his entire life, and where he died November 16, 1811. He married Mary, daughter of Daniel and Mary Chase, who was born December 15, 1746, at Swansea, and died there September 7, 1814. Children: 1. Jonathan, born February 10, 1768; died there December 8, 1797. 2. Mercy, born June 30, 1770. 3. Mary, born April 15, 1772. 4. Anna, born January 20, 1775; died May 19, 1805. 5. Patience, born



Phebe (Lawton) Stude

THE SLADE FAMILY IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA

May 5, 1777, died October 26, 1798. 6. William, mentioned below. 7. Nathan, born February 10, 1783. 8. Phebe, born May 15, 1785. 9. Hannah, born January 18, 1788; died May 23, 1805. 10. Lydia, born April 3, 1791; died October 26, 1804.

V. *William* (2) *Slade*, son of Jonathan and Mary (Chase) Slade, was born in the town of Swansea, Massachusetts, June 4, 1780, and died there, September 7, 1852. He resided in that part of Swansea which later became Somerset, and was a prominent figure in community affairs, filling many offices of trust and responsibility. It was he who instituted the improvement of the ferry in the year 1826, when he substituted a horse-boat for the old row-boat, but this was only the beginning. In 1846 he was one of the pioneers in adopting steam as the motive power of ferry boats. In 1812, together with a number of associates, he purchased the land upon which was built the Pocasset Company's mill, one of the first two mills in what was then the town of Troy, now the city of Fall River. These mills became the pioneers in the cloth-making industry, established in 1813. Jonathan Slade was one of the original stockholders in these enterprises, and one of the eight incorporators who in 1822 founded the Pocasset Manufacturing Company of Fall River, a concern which may be said to have given the greatest impetus of the time to the cotton manufacturing industry in the region. He was also one of the original owners of the Watuppa Manufacturing Company of the same place. He married Phebe, daughter of William and Abigail Lawton, who was born August 21, 1781, at Newport, Rhode Island, and died at Somerset, Massachusetts, March 18, 1874, in her ninety-third year. Children, all born in Somerset, Massachusetts, were: 1. Abigail L., born January 22, 1809. 2. Lydia Ann, born September 17, 1811. 3. Amanda, born December 2, 1813. 4. Jonathan, born September 23, 1815. 5. William L., mentioned below. 6. David, born September 4, 1819. 7. Mary, born September 30, 1821.

VI. *Hon. William Lawton Slade*, son of William (2) and Phebe (Lawton) Slade, was born September 6, 1817, at Somerset, Massachusetts, where he was reared on the old Slade homestead. He attended the common schools of that region for a time, and was later sent by his parents to the Friends' School at Providence. He continued to operate the Slade Ferry, and engaged in farming on a

THE SLADE FAMILY IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA

large scale. He added extensively during his lifetime to the family estate, purchasing several fine farms. In 1871 he inherited the ferry property, lying on the east side of Taunton river. This he received in association with his brother, Jonathan Slade, and these two were the last to operate the ferry, as the river was bridged in 1876, thus terminating an occupation which had continued in the family for about two hundred years.

Early in life, William Lawton Slade, like his father, became interested in the manufacturing concerns of Fall River, and became a member of the first board of directors, and later president of the Montaup Mills Company. This was organized in the year 1871 for the manufacture of duck and common bags, and launched a new industry in Fall River. Mr. Slade was also one of the promoters of the Slade Mill, which, founded in 1871, was one of the first group of factories erected in the southern district of the city. He became director and the president of this concern later, and was also a director of the Stafford Mill, besides holding stock in several other important industrial concerns of Fall River. He was connected with the financial institutions of the city, and in 1860 was made a director of what subsequently became the Fall River National Bank. He was equally prominent in public affairs, serving for many years as a selectman of the town of Somerset, and in 1859 and 1864 represented that town in the General Assembly of Massachusetts. While a member of this body he was appointed to the committee on agriculture during his first term, and to the committees on public charitable institutions and on the arrangements for the burial of Senator Charles Sumner during his second. In 1863 he was elected a member of the Massachusetts State Senate, and served in that body as a member of the committee on agriculture. He was a Republican in politics, and a strong upholder of the principles and policies of that party, but was never an office-seeker, although he would not deny the popular demand for his nomination to the various public posts which he held. It often became his duty to engage in the settlement of estates, and he frequently served as a commissioner for that purpose. He was a man of high ideals and strong belief, and was one of the chief advocates of temperance in that part of the state. His death occurred July 29, 1895, and two days later the board of directors of the Slade

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Mill passed the following resolutions as a testimonial to his character:

William Lawton Slade was one of the originators of this company, and has been its president since the date of its incorporation in 1871. He has always identified himself with its interests, and its welfare has been his constant care. He gave freely of his time and thought to the business of the corporation. Every subject presented to his attention received from him calm consideration, and mature deliberation, and his judgment was universally respected. He was broad in his views, farseeing in his suggestions, and looked not alone to the present, but to the future.

He was a man of noble presence, high character, sound judgment, and unswerving integrity. He was pleasant in his manner, and was universally esteemed and respected.

This corporation has lost in him a firm friend, a wise counselor and a sagacious adviser, and its directors, each and every one, feel a keen sense of personal bereavement.

It is resolved that we attend his funeral in a body and that copies of this record be furnished to his family and for publication.

HENRY S. FENNER, Clerk.

William Lawton Slade married, October 5, 1842, Mary Sherman, daughter of Asa and Elizabeth (Mitchell) Sherman, of Portsmouth, Rhode Island. (See Sherman V.) She was born September 16, 1815, in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, and died March 29, 1900, in Somerset, Massachusetts. Children: 1. Caroline Elizabeth, mentioned below. 2. Abigail L., born March 15, 1848, died November 5, 1872; married James T. Milne. 3. Mary, born July 12, 1852, died August 15, 1877; married Velona W. Haughwout, and died leaving three children: Mary, Alice, and Elizabeth. Of these, Mary and Elizabeth died in young womanhood, and Alice is the wife of Preston C. West of Saskatchewan, Canada. 4. Sarah Sherman, died young. 5. Anna Mitchell, died young.

VII. *Caroline Elizabeth Slade*, daughter of William Lawton and Mary (Sherman) Slade, was born January 3, 1846, at Somerset. She became the wife of Hezekiah Anthony Brayton, of Fall River. (See Brayton VII in "American Families.")

(The Holmes Line.)

One of the most notable of the early ministers of the Baptist church in New England was the Rev. Obadiah Holmes, one of the

early converts to the Baptist faith who suffered severe persecution for his religious beliefs at the hands of the Puritans. Rev. Obadiah Holmes was the companion of the Rev. Dr. John Clarke for many decades. He was the founder of a numerous progeny which has spread into every State in the Union. Rev. Obadiah Holmes, however, was but one of a dozen or more immigrants of the name of Holmes who settled in the Massachusetts Bay Colony and in Plymouth prior to 1650.

I. *Rev. Obadiah Holmes*, founder of the family in America, was born at Preston, Lancashire, England, about the year 1606. Of his early youth little has been discovered. He came to the New England colonies about 1639, and settled first in Salem, Massachusetts, whence he removed to Rehoboth, Massachusetts, where he resided eleven years. While living in this place he became a convert to the distinctive views of the Baptists, and was especially strenuous in rejecting infant baptism, and in maintaining the doctrine of "soul liberty."

In 1649, Rev. Obadiah Holmes and eight others withdrew from Mr. Newman's church in Rehoboth and established a church by themselves. Mr. Newman retaliated by making every effort in his power to rouse the civil authorities against them, and was successful to the extent of drawing four petitions respectively from the town of Rehoboth, from Taunton, from all the clergymen in the Colony of Rhode Island but two, and from the government of Massachusetts. These were presented to the Plymouth Colony, but because of the milder spirit of tolerance which prevailed at the time, the separatists were simply directed "to refrain from practices disagreeable to their brethren, and to appear before the Court." Rev. Obadiah Holmes became a member of the church of Dr. John Clarke, at Newport, and in July, 1651, accompanied his minister, with John Crandall, in the visit to Lynn, Massachusetts, where they held a religious meeting in the house of William Witler. They were arrested and imprisoned in Boston, where they were condemned by the court to suffer fines or whippings,—Dr. Clarke, £20; Rev. Holmes, £30; and Mr. Crandall, £5. The alternative was the payment of the fine or to be publicly whipped. Holmes refused to pay the fine, and would

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not allow his friends to pay it for him, saying that "to pay it would be acknowledging himself to have done wrong," whereas his conscience testified that he had done right, and he "durst not accept deliverance in such a way." He was accordingly kept in prison until September, when he was publicly whipped with thirty lashes from a three-corded whip, on Boston Common, with such severity, testified Governor Joseph Jencks, "that in many days, if not some weeks, he could take no rest but as he lay upon his knees and elbows, not being able to suffer any part of his body to touch the bed whereon he lay." "You have struck me with roses," he said to his tormentors. Soon after this, Rev. Obadiah Holmes and his followers removed to Newport, where in 1652 he was chosen to supply the place of Dr. Clarke, who had left his church to accompany Roger Williams to England. His connection with the church as pastor and as assistant to Dr. Clarke on his return from England, continued until his death, in Newport, in 1682, at the advanced age of seventy-six years. In 1676 he succeeded Dr. Clarke to the pastorate of the First Baptist Church of Newport. Rev. Obadiah Holmes had eight children; one of his sons, Obadiah, was for several years a judge in New Jersey and a minister in Cohansey in that State. Another son, John, was a magistrate in Philadelphia. A daughter, Sarah, is mentioned below.

II. *Sarah Holmes*, daughter of Rev. Obadiah Holmes, became the wife of William Slade, the founder of the Slade family in America. (See Slade I.)

Note.—Except where otherwise noted, references cited will be found in future numbers of "Americana."



The Wardwell Family



WARDWELL, as a surname, had its origin in the medieval institution of "watch and ward," which at one time flourished in England. Early ancestors of the family in England may actually have been those who kept the "watch and ward," or guardians of the peace and safety of the towns of the realm, or they may merely have been residents in the vicinity of the watch towers. The family in England attained high rank and great power and influence in the early part of the dominion of the Normans in England, and is traced in a direct line to a member of the train of William the Conqueror, who in return for his services was given extensive estates under the feudal system in Westmoreland. When the adoption of surnames spread among the upper classes, this noble, following an almost universal custom, assumed the name of Wardell or Wardwell, from an old watch tower or watch hill which stood on his estate on the northern borders of Westmoreland. Here signals were given to Moothy Beacon on any inroad of the fierce Scotch tribes of the borderland. The Wardwell family maintained its prestige and prominence in England through intervening centuries down to the period of colonial immigration.

In the early part of the colonial period the American branch of the family was planted in New England by one William Wardwell, or Wardell. The family early assumed a place of distinction and prominence among our early colonial families, and to the present day has not relinquished but has added to the prestige of a time-honored name. The Wardwells of New England have played a notable part in the development of its life. The name is found with frequency and in high places in the annals of our military and naval achievements, and in the history of the professions, business, finance and the industries. Bristol, Rhode Island, has been the home of the branch of the Wardwell family herein under consideration, for two and a half centuries. From this branch sprang the following men whose names are notable in the history of Rhode Island affairs: Ben-

THE WARDWELL FAMILY

jamin Wardwell, Colonel Samuel Wardwell, Colonel Hezekiah Church Wardwell, Hon. William T. C. Wardwell, and Hon. Samuel D. Wardwell.

Arms—Argent on a bend between six martlets sable three bezants.

Crest—A lion's gamb holding a spear, tasseled or.

Motto—*Avito viret honore.*

I. William Wardwell, immigrant ancestor and founder, settled first in Boston, later accompanying Wheelwright to Exeter, Massachusetts. He returned to Boston after a temporary residence in Ipswich, and for several years conducted the Hollis Inn there. He married (first) Alice ———, (second) December 5, 1657, Elizabeth, widow of John Gillet.

II. Uzal Wardwell, son of William and Alice Wardwell, was born April 7, 1639, and died October 25, 1732. He married (first) in Ipswich, May 3, 1664, Mary Ring, widow of Daniel Ring, and daughter of Robert and Mary (Bordman) Kinsman, of Ipswich, and after her death remarried, and removed to Bristol, Rhode Island, where he founded the Wardwell family of that place. He married (second) Grace ———.

III. Benjamin Wardwell, son of Uzal and Grace Wardwell, was born April 19, 1688, and died in June, 1739. He was of Bristol, Rhode Island. He married (first) Mary ———, who died May 2, 1733.

IV. William Wardwell, fourth son of Benjamin and Mary Wardwell, was born in 1722, at Bristol, Rhode Island; was a large land holder, and prominent figure in the early community. He married, September 26, 1742, Mary Howland, daughter of Samuel Howland, and descendant of John Howland, of the "Mayflower." (See Howland V).

V. Benjamin (2) Wardwell, son of William (2) and Mary (Howland) Wardwell, was born in Bristol, Rhode Island, and baptized there, February 9, 1753. He was thrice married; he married (second) November 19, 1780, Katherine Glover, daughter of Captain

THE WARDWELL FAMILY

Joseph and Elizabeth (Bass) Glover, of Braintree, Massachusetts, who died January 14, 1803. (See Glover).

VI. Benjamin (3) Wardwell, son of Benjamin (2) and Katherine (Glover) Wardwell, was born August 24, 1784, in the town of Bristol, Rhode Island; business man and public leader of note in the town; died September 12, 1871. He married, January 14, 1807, Elizabeth Manchester, daughter of Zebedee and Deborah (Briggs) Manchester, of Little Compton, Rhode Island.

VII. Elizabeth Manchester Wardwell, daughter of Benjamin (3) and Elizabeth (Manchester) Wardwell, was born November 6, 1827. She married, September 27, 1853, Ramon Guiteras, of Matanzas, Cuba, descendant of an old Cuban family, of Spanish origin, an extensive plantation owner, and gentleman of culture. They were the parents of Miss Gertrude E. Guiteras, who resides at the Wardwell home in Bristol, and of the late Dr. Ramon Guiteras, of New York. (See January number of "Americana").

(The Manchester Line.)

Arms—Quarterly, first and fourth argent, three lozenges, conjoined in fess gules, within a bordure sable. Second and third, or, an eagle displayed vert, beaked and membered gules.

Crest—A griffin's head couped, wings expanded or, gorged with a collar argent, charged with three lozenges gules.

Supporters—Dexter, a heraldic antelope or, armed, tufted and hooped argent. Sinister, a griffin or, gorged with a collar, as the crest.

Motto—*Disponendo me, non mutando me.* (By disposing of me, not changing me).

Thomas Manchester, the immigrant ancestor of this notable Rhode Island family, was born in England, and was a resident of New Haven, Connecticut, in the year following the planting of the colony, 1639. Afterward, however, he settled at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, where he is first mentioned in the land records January 25, 1655, when he and his wife sold to Thomas Wood twelve acres of land. He married Margaret, daughter of John Wood, who under her father's will received eight pounds, which it was ordered, March 17, 1655, John Wood pay to his sister, Margaret Manchester. Eight acres of

land were granted at Portsmouth to Thomas Manchester, December 10, 1657, and July 6, 1658, he sold to Richard Sisson one three-hundredth right in Canonicut and Dutch Islands. He and his wife testified, June 7, 1686, that they heard and saw Ichabod Sheffield married by William Baulstone many years before. He deeded to his son John, July 9, 1691, his mansion house and all lands at Portsmouth, except the piece at the lower end of the ground, in possession of his son, Thomas, one-half to be his at the death of the grantor and the other half after the death of the grantor's wife, mother of the grantee, provided he pay to the sons Thomas, William and Stephen, ten shillings each, to Job twenty shillings, and daughters Mary and Elizabeth ten shillings each. He also deeded to his son John all his personal property, including cattle, chattels, implements, bonds, sums of money and whatever belonged to him at the time of his decease. Thomas Manchester died in 1691, and his wife in 1693. For more than two hundred years the family has been identified with Tiverton, Little Compton, and the surrounding country.

Elizabeth Manchester, who became the wife of Benjamin (3) Wardwell, of Bristol, Rhode Island, was a member of this old family. She was the daughter of Zebedee and Deborah (Briggs) Manchester, and granddaughter of Archer and Elizabeth Manchester, of Little Compton, where she was baptized July 31, 1810. She married, January 14, 1807, Benjamin (3) Wardwell. (See Wardwell VI).

The Briggs family, of which Deborah Briggs, mother of Elizabeth (Manchester) Wardwell, was a member, bears arms as follows: Argent three escutcheons gules, each charged with a bend of the field. Crest: An arm vambraced, and hand holding a bow and arrow proper.

Note.—References cited will be found in the preceding and future numbers of "Americana."

Ancestry and Heraldry

BY MARCUS ULBRICHT.

“Any people, who are indifferent to the noble achievements of remote ancestors, are not likely to achieve anything worthy to be remembered by their descendants.”—MACAULAY.



ANCESTRY is the relation to or connection with one's ancestors; especially, noble or worthy lineage. Ancestor is one from whom descent is derived; a person further back in the line than a grandfather. Descendant is one who is descended as issue, lineally, from another, however remotely, as a child, grandchild, great-grandchild.

Heraldry is the science that treats of emblazoning in proper colors and of describing in proper terms armorial bearings and determining genealogies, and the manner in which families and dignities are represented and their connection with family histories and titular rank.

History and Genealogy, linked as they are with Heraldry, are illustrated and in some instances explained, by the science of arms. It is certain that in all ages of the world symbolical signs of one kind or other have been adopted, either to denote the valor of a chief or of a nation, or to distinguish themselves or families, or the noble from the inferior.

The use of armorial designs is supposed to have been from the Egyptian hieroglyphics; but most antiquarians agree that it is almost certain that it was not until the Crusades that Heraldry came into general use. It flourished as an art chiefly under the feudal system and came into general hereditary use about A. D. 1200. The appellation “arms” is owing to the fact that the marks of distinction, so called, were chiefly and first worn by military commanders on their shields, banners and other appliances.

As to Heraldry, we Americans should understand that we cannot

dismiss or refuse to recognize it because we are living and thriving in a great Republic, and not in a country which is ruled by royalty. Some one will say: "What right have you to bear 'Arms' in this great republic?" The answer is clear. This Republic of ours also has a coat-of-arms, and no one dare dispute its right to it, and so have all the States and many counties and cities. Our Republic adopted an eagle as its emblem, but it is a republican eagle, not a royal one. No one would dare to take that eagle away from it.

We may repudiate royalty, but we cannot and will not disavow the noble men and women who were our ancestors and whose blood is flowing in our veins; and, if we go back far enough, we will find one or more of them who never saw the American shores, but had the right to and bore a coat-of-arms. If one's ancestors were granted the right to bear arms, that right and the arms themselves became the exclusive right and property of his family, and that right descended from generation to generation. The American citizen, whose ancestors had that right, has inherited the coat-of-arms, and if he chooses to print it on his stationery or have it painted on his coach or on the walls of his rooms, it is perfectly appropriate, and his inherent right to do so, at the same time honoring the memory of his forefathers who by valiant deeds or other meritorious services had gained the confidence, esteem and approbation of their superiors, and in token thereof were rewarded with the right to bear arms.

A complete Coat-of-Arms, or Achievement, consists of

1. The *Escutcheon* or *Shield*, upon which the different symbols are depicted. It may have any form or shape, as the artist may desire.
2. The *Helmet*, which rests upon the shield.
3. The *Mantling* or *Lambrequin*, which partly covers the helmet, was originally a leather covering to protect the helmet from dampness, and the wearer from the heat of the sun, and, becoming ragged in the heat of battle, was eagerly seized upon by the artist to form pleasing and decorative designs.
4. The *Wreath*, the *Chapeau* or the *Ducal Coronet*, on which the crest is placed.
5. The *Crest*, which issues from the wreath, chapeau or coronet,

above the helmet. One cannot have a crest unless he has a coat-of-arms; a crest alone is not granted.

6. The *Motto*, which is designed on a scroll or ribbon placed at the bottom, beneath the shield. A motto can be selected or relinquished at will. The descendants of one and the same family can each have a different motto.

7. The *Supporters* (which are borne only by Peers) are figures of human beings or other living creatures, placed at the side or sides of the shield, and appearing to support it.

The principal parts of an Achievement, or Coat-of-Arms, are the arms, the crest and the motto; but, when fully emblazoned, the helmet, mantling and supporters (if any) must be used.

The four accompanying illustrations of Family Arms will explain the above.

Figure 1 is a Coat-of-Arms, without wreath, crest or motto, as borne by the Font family.

Figure 2 shows the arms of the Paine family, with wreath, crest and motto.

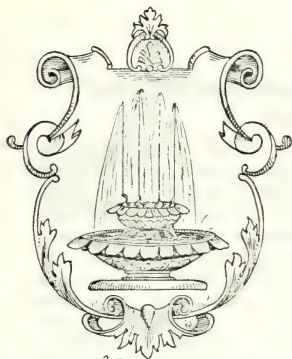
Figure 3 is a complete Achievement, or Coat-of-Arms, with helmet, mantling, wreath, crest and motto, as borne by the Emery family.

Figure 4 shows an illustration of a Coat-of-Arms complete, with the addition of the supporters. Such an achievement can only be borne by peers. The Arms are those of the Ingham family.

“Of all the affections of man, those which connect him with Ancestry are among the most natural and generous. They enlarge the sphere of his interests, multiply his motives to Virtue, and give intensity to his sense of duty to generations to come, by the perception of obligation to those which are passed.”

QUINCY.





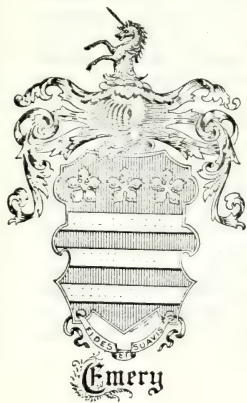
FONT

FIG. 1



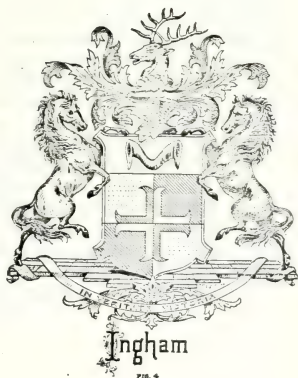
PAINE

FIG. 2



Emery

FIG. 3



Ingham

FIG. 4

Three Distinguished Litterateurs Recently Deceased



SHORTLY before the last preceding issue of this Magazine, three distinguished litterateurs have passed away—the Rev. Samuel Hart, D. D., Charles Elliott Fitch, L. H. D., and William S. Pelletreau, A. M. All were intimately associated in a professional and personal way, with the American Historical Society, and their labors were crowned with achievements of enduring value, along historical, genealogical and antiquarian lines. Of such it may well be said that: Their works do follow them.

While Charles Elliott Fitch, lawyer, journalist and educator, of Syracuse, during a long and unusually active life, held various important official positions, and always with ability and fidelity, his chief distinction was in the field of letters. With the exception of Dr. Ellis H. Roberts, of Utica, he was the sole survivor of that remarkable group of "writing editors" who made a deep impression upon the public affairs of the State of New York in the years following the Civil War. In the Metropolis, Greeley of the "Tribune" and Raymond of the "Times" were both in the last decade of their service. From 1867 Dana was brilliantly identified with the "Sun," and Bryant was yet at the head of the "Evening Post." Weed, of the Albany "Journal," had but lately ended his newspaper activities. In the interior, a school of trenchant and aggressive journalists embraced Roberts of the Utica "Herald," Francis of the Troy "Times," Carroll E. Smith of the Syracuse "Journal," Warren of the Buffalo "Commercial," and Matthews of the Buffalo "Express." Of Fitch it has been said by a discriminating writer, Alexander, that he was an editorial advocate and disputant who had to be reckoned with. In Alexander's recent history of New York, dealing with the period immediately following the Civil War, there are various references to the editorial work and political influence of Fitch, and, as said by the writer quoted, in vigor and grace of

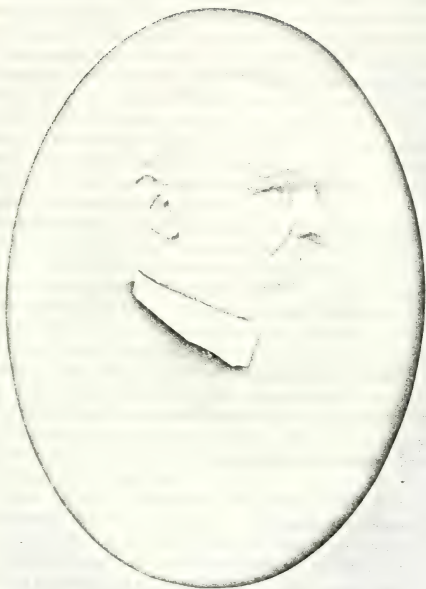
THREE DISTINGUISHED LITTERATEURS DECEASED

editorial expression he was at least the equal of any of his up-State contemporaries; but he had the advantage of most of them in his bountiful store of historical learning—the one unmatched fountain of enlightened and convincing editorial discourse.

Charles Elliott Fitch was born in Syracuse, New York, December 3, 1835, son of Thomas Brockway and Ursula (Elliott) Fitch; his father was for nearly fifty years a prominent merchant and banker of Syracuse; his mother was a daughter of Daniel Elliott, architect and builder, who settled in Syracuse in 1827. Mr. Fitch was eighth in descent from the Rev. James Fitch, a Congregational minister, well known for his missionary labors in conjunction with John Eliot, the Apostle among the Indians, who having preached in Saybrook, Connecticut, removed with nearly all his congregation to Norwich, Connecticut, and is regarded as the chief founder of that place. Mr. Fitch was of pure Puritan ancestry throughout, having been descended in direct lines from Governor William Bradford and Elder William Brewster, of the "Mayflower."

Charles E. Fitch attended select schools in Syracuse, except for one year at a boarding school in Stamford, Connecticut. He was especially prepared for college at Alger Institute, Cornwall, Connecticut, Rev. Edward Watson Andrews, principal. In 1851 he entered Williams College, under the presidency of Mark Hopkins, and was graduated therefrom in 1855 with honor; subject of his commencement oration, "Berkshire." He was a member of the Sigma Phi fraternity; and throughout his course was prominent in the Philotechnian Society, secretary and vice-president.

In 1855-56 he studied law in the office of Hon. Israel S. Spencer, in Syracuse, and in the latter year entered the Albany Law School (now the law department of Union University), from which he was graduated Bachelor of Laws, his graduation thesis being "Theory of Interest." He was admitted to the bar in February, 1857, and entered upon practice in Syracuse, which he continued until 1864, with the following partners: Henry S. Fuller, Henry A. Barnum, and A. Judd Northrup. Fitch & Barnum were city attorneys in 1860, Amos Westcott being mayor. During this period Mr. Fitch was president of the Calliopean Society, the leading literary society of Syracuse (1856-57); president of the Junior Fremont and Day-



Chas. E. Fitch

THREE DISTINGUISHED LITTERATEURS DECEASED

ton Club, a political association of young men not yet voters (1856); director of Franklin Institute (1858-61), and corresponding secretary in 1859; director and corresponding secretary of the Onondaga County Historical Society (1859-60). In 1861 he was a member of the Onondaga County Board of Supervisors from the Seventh Ward of Syracuse; of this board he was in 1916 the sole survivor. In 1864 he was appointed clerk of the Provost Court, Department of North Carolina, at New Bern, under Colonel Edwin S. Jenney, Provost Judge (also of Syracuse), and served in that capacity in 1864-65, and in the latter year engaged in the practice of his profession there. The Supreme Court of the State had not yet been reëstablished, but he had much remunerative practice in justices' courts, civil and criminal, and in military commissions and courts-martial, some of his cases being notable.

He returned to Syracuse in December, 1865. He had a liking for his profession, but journalism now opened to him a field which was most congenial. From 1857 to the time of his death, he was a frequent contributor to Syracuse journals, and his writings had been received with favor. In May, 1866, he became a member of the firm of Summers & Company (Moses Summers, William Summers, Henry A. Barnum and Charles E. Fitch), publishers of the Syracuse "Standard," and of which he was made editor-in-chief, and continued as such until 1873, when he relinquished it to become editor-in-chief and a stockholder and trustee in the Rochester "Democrat and Chronicle," so continuing until 1890, when impaired health and public duties called him from his editorial chair. Firmly adhering to Republican principles, in 1872 he favored the liberal element of the party, and he vigorously fought the Grant third term project, in line with the "Half Breeds." He gave his paper a literary as well as a political tone, and his polished style and critical analysis of character gave a special weight and attractiveness to his biographical articles and all pertaining to the personality of the prominent men of his day then before the public.

In 1876 Mr. Fitch was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in Cincinnati, and in 1888 was chairman of the State Convention at Buffalo. In 1880 he was supervisor of the United States census for the western district of the State. From 1890 to

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1894 he was Collector of Revenue for Western New York, under appointment by President Harrison, and made a phenomenal record, collecting for the government the sum of nine million dollars, and, in his final settlement, without a penny at fault in his accounts. In 1894 he was secretary of the New York State Constitutional Convention. During all the years from 1864 to 1892 he was frequently on the stump in behalf of the Republican party in its most important campaigns, and he was a delegate from Onondaga and Monroe counties to many Republican State Conventions, usually serving upon the committee on resolutions.

Mr. Fitch was especially distinguished in the fields of literature and education. In 1877 he was elected by the Legislature a Regent of the University of the State of New York, and as such served with conspicuous ability for the unusual period of twenty-seven years, from 1877 to 1904. From 1893 to 1896 he was university extension lecturer, delivering ten lectures on "Civil and Religious Liberty" in a score of cities and towns in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania; from 1895 to 1904 was lecturer before Teachers' Institutes under appointment by the Hon. Charles R. Skinner, superintendent of public instruction, and speaking in nearly every county in New York, mainly on historical subjects; and from 1904 to 1906 was chief of the important School Libraries Division of the New York Education Department. During all these years he also delivered many orations and addresses, all distinguished by lofty literary and oratorical ability. These include, in part:

Annual address as president of the Calliopean Society, Syracuse, 1856 and 1857; address in commemoration of the laying of the first Atlantic cable, Syracuse, 1858; "The National Problem," at Delphi, July 4, 1861; "Union and Liberty," at New Bern, North Carolina, July 4, 1865; "The Press of Onondaga County," at Syracuse, and repeated in various villages in Onondaga county, 1868; "The Risks of Thinking," before the Sigma Phi Society at the University of Michigan, 1870; "The Limitations of Democracy," at Marathon, New York, July 4, 1871; "Union and Unity," at Cortland, New York, 1872; "American Chivalry," at Syracuse, Memorial Day, 1874; "Church and State," at Annual meeting of school commissioners and superintendents, State of New York, Rochester, 1875; "Education and the State," before the New York State Teachers'

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Association, Watkins, New York, 1876; "National and Individual Independence," at Skaneateles, New York, July 4, 1876; "Chivalry and Duty," at Albion, New York, Memorial Day, 1877; "The Perils of Journalism," before the New York Press Association, Syracuse, 1878; "The Meaning of the Flowers," Geneva, New York, Memorial Day, 1879; "Migration and Development," before Wyoming Pioneer Association, Silver Lake, New York, 1880; "Mental Limitations," at Commencement, Ingham University, 1880; address and author of resolutions at citizens' meeting at Rochester, on death of President Garfield, 1881; the sketch of Garfield, printed in "International Magazine" by request; "The American College," 1884, at semi-centennial of Sigma Phi Chapter at Williams College, and repeated substantially at the centennial of the University of the State of New York, in the Senate Chamber, Albany; Historical address at the semi-centennial of the City of Rochester, 1884; Five lectures on "Journalism" before the students of Cornell University, 1885; "A Layman's view of the Medical Profession," before graduating class of Medical College, Syracuse University, June 11, 1885; "Journalism as a Profession," Rutgers College commencement, June, 1886, and repeated at Haverford College, March, 1890; "The Christian School," at Keble School commencement, June, 1889; "The Value of Exact Knowledge," Founders' Day, Lehigh University, 1891; Memorial address on George William Curtis, before the Regents of the University of the State of New York, Senate Chamber, Albany, 1892; "Higher Education and the State," University Convocation, Albany, July, 1893; Historical address at Centennial of Onondaga County, Syracuse, 1894; Historical address at semi-centennial of City of Syracuse, 1897; "Patriotism in Education," before State Teachers' Association, Rochester, 1898; Historical address at semi-centennial of Genesee county, Batavia, 1902; "Regents' Examinations," at University Convocation, Albany, 1902; Memorial address on Carroll E. Smith, before Onondaga County Historical Association, Syracuse, 1903; "Susan B. Anthony and Human Liberty," before Syracuse Political Equality Club, April 20, 1906; also many unpublished lyceum lectures and papers read before the Fortnightly and Browning clubs of Rochester, and elsewhere, and which were all burned in the Albany Capitol fire in February, 1911—a most serious loss to the memorabilia of the State. These included "Gerrit Smith," "Thomas Chatterton," "The Law of Libel," "John Milton as a Politician," "Robert Burns," "Arnold of Brescia," "Henry Clay in 1850," "The Inter-continental Railway," "The Puritan and the Dutchman," "Prussia and Stein," "A Forgotten Author—Fitz Hugh Ludlow," "Drawn

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Toward the Orient—Lafcadio Hearn,” and a lecture on Abraham Lincoln, which he delivered a hundred times.

Mr. Fitch was a contributor at various times to “Harper’s Weekly,” the New York “Tribune,” the New York “Times,” the Troy “Times,” and the Syracuse “Herald,” and was associate editor of the Rochester “Post-Express” (1896-98). He was the author of the article on “The Press,” in Peck’s “History of Rochester;” “The Public School History of Common School Education in New York from 1813 to 1904,” published by the Department of Public Instruction, 1904; “Secretary’s Report at Fiftieth Anniversary of the Class of 1855,” 1905; “History of Browning Club, Rochester,” 1910. Mr. Fitch also edited “Political New York from Cleveland to Hughes,” (1913), and was supervising editor and writer of many brilliant biographical sketches of the “Memorial Cyclopedia of New York.” He received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Syracuse University, 1875; was a trustee of the Merchants’ Savings Bank of Rochester, 1878-99; one of the founders of the Fortnightly Literary Club of Rochester, 1882, resigning therefrom in 1898; elected member of Williams Chapter, Phi Beta Kappa, 1883; president of Rochester Historical Society, 1892-93; one of the founders of Sigma Phi chapter at Lehigh University, 1887, and at Cornell University, 1890; received honorary degree of L. H. D. from Hamilton College, 1895; was member of the Society of Mayflower Descendants, American Geographical Society, American Historical Society, Syracuse Club (predecessor of the Century), the Rochester and Rochester Whist clubs, president of the Williams College Association of Western New York, and of the Sigma Phi Association of Central and Western New York.

Dr. Fitch married, July 21, 1870, Louise Lawrence, daughter of Thomas A. Smith (sometime editor of the Syracuse “Standard”), and Charlotte Elizabeth (Lawrence) Smith, and first cousin of the Hon. Carroll E. Smith. His children are: Lawrence Bradford (B. A., Williams, 1892), a civil engineer of Rochester; and Elizabeth Le Baron, wife of Rev. Wallace Hubbard Watts, chaplain, United States army. Dr. Fitch died January 13, 1918.



Samuel Hart

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The Rev. Dr. Samuel Hart, dean of the Berkeley Divinity School, whose death occurred at Middletown, Connecticut, February 25, 1917, from pneumonia, after an illness of only a few days, was one of the most scholarly and influential divines and theologians of his day.

He was born in Old Saybrook, June 4, 1845, the son of Henry and Mary Witter Hart, his father being a prosperous farmer, who was also justice of the peace and judge of probate. He was descended from Stephen Hart, who came from England to Cambridge in 1637 and later migrated to Hartford and finally to Farmington. Among his ancestors were also Captain Thomas Hart, and John Hart, who graduated from Yale College in 1703, its second graduate, and who later became a tutor at the college.

Young Hart was reared on his father's farm in Old Saybrook, and when not in school was busy in farm work. His father was well-to-do, and his son, after his education in the district schools, was sent to the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire, where he prepared for college. He entered Trinity College, from which he received his B. A. degree in 1866. Before this date he had decided to enter the ministry, and upon completing his academic course he entered the Berkeley Divinity School in Middletown, where he was graduated in 1869, receiving his Master's degree at Trinity the same year. He was ordained deacon by Bishop Williams on June 2, 1869, and to the priesthood the following year. At the time of his death he had been a priest for forty-seven years and in orders for nearly forty-eight, was seventh among the priests of the diocese in order of canonical residence. During the last year of his course in Berkeley Divinity School he was a tutor in Trinity College.

The work of an instructor appealed to the young priest, more than did the routine of a parish, and shortly after his ordination he was made Assistant Professor of Mathematics and in 1873 he became professor of that subject. Ten years later he became Professor of Latin at Trinity College, and he held that post until he left in 1899 to become vice-dean of Berkeley Divinity School, and removed from Hartford to Middletown and became leader and chaplain in 1908.

He had already become well known in the church outside the dio-

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cese of Connecticut, and in 1886 was made custodian of the Book of Common Prayer, an office which he held until the time of his death. An intimate friend of Bishop Williams, his name was used as one of the candidates when the failing health of Bishop Williams led to the election of a bishop coadjutor in 1897, and at that time he had already declined an election to the bishopric of the diocese of Vermont to take the place later filled by Bishop A. C. A. Hall. His name was again used as a candidate when Bishop-Coadjutor Brewster became sole bishop of the diocese. In 1892, at the general convention of the Protestant Episcopal church, he was secretary of the House of Bishops, which honor he held until his death, officiating at the recent triennial convention held in St. Louis, Missouri. In 1898 he was made historiographer of the Protestant Episcopal church. He had been a senator of the Phi Beta Kappa fraternity since 1892.

In 1885 he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Trinity College, and the same title was conferred upon him by Yale University. In 1899 Trinity gave him the degree of Doctor of Canon Law, while Wesleyan University later gave him the degree of LL.D.

There were few churches in the diocese in which he had not preached, for probably no other priest in the diocese possessed such knowledge of the church in Connecticut as did he, and few equalled him in his knowledge of the history of his native State. He was often heard in the church in his native town, Old Saybrook, and during the pastorate of the late Rev. Dr. W. G. Andrews, of Guilford, he was frequently heard in Christ Church in that town, where his ancestors once lived. He was one of the speakers there when the town celebrated the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its settlement in September, 1889. Whenever a Hartford parish observed an anniversary, he was invariably called upon to give the historical address, his last appearance in that capacity there being at the Church of the Good Shepherd in December, 1916. He gave the historical address at the seventy-fifth anniversary of St. John's parish, and a few years ago he was heard at Christ Church, when that venerable parish observed an anniversary. His mastery of historical data, the purity of his English and the charm

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of his delivery, made him invariably the choice when an address of the sort was called for. For some years Trinity College depended upon him for its necrology and it was he who collected the data and who read the list at Alumni Day.

Dr. Hart was president of the Connecticut Historical Society from 1900 to the time of his death. He was vice-president of the Wadsworth Atheneum, and president of the trustees of the Good Will Club, in which he was always keenly interested. From 1873 to 1888 he was secretary of the American Philological Association, and was its president in 1892-93. He was president of the Connecticut Library Association from 1894 to 1896. He was prominent in other societies and organizations, including the American Oriental Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, the American Historical Association, the New Haven Historical Society, the Society of Colonial Wars, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the Psi Upsilon fraternity. He was also one of those chosen by his cousin, the late Mrs. Elizabeth Hart Colt, as executors to administer certain bequests left by her, and for more than thirty years he had been practically a weekly visitor at the Hartford Hospital, where he conducted services.

He was known as a writer, appearing in 1873 as the editor of the "Satires of Juvenal," and in 1875 he issued the "Satires of Persius," and, shortly after, he published "Bishop Seabury's Communion Office, With Notes." In 1895 he edited "Maclear's Manual For Confirmation and Holy Communion," and in 1901 he wrote the "History of the American Prayer Book," a topic upon which he gave a series of lectures in Christ Church. For fifty years he was a voluntary and irregular contributor to the "Hartford Courant." Among his last labors was that upon the "Encyclopedia of Connecticut Biography."

At the annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal convention held in St. Paul's Church, New Haven, in 1904, a committee of three clergymen and five laymen was appointed to prepare a memorial on the occasion of the completion of Rev. Dr. Hart's thirtieth year as registrar, and which concluded with the following fervent tribute:

He has virtually given his life to Connecticut; and the gift has

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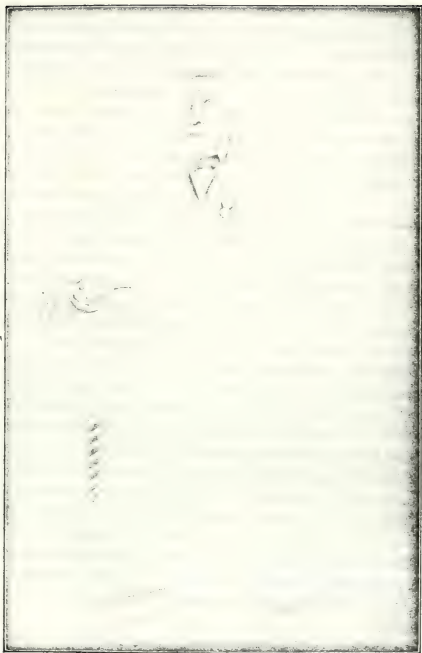
included a wealth not only of intellectual and moral, but of spiritual power, put forth in priestly ministries such as the best of parish priests might have been thankful to be equal to. And the modest office of registrar, in which he has for almost a generation wrought so untiringly and unselfishly, would seem furnished in him with an instrument far too costly for such uses, were it not that he has wrought so fruitfully as to make uses seem worth the cost.

This is saying much, for though the cost to us is nothing, it may easily have been to him the sacrifice of laurels, to be green for generations, which he could have won in Christian literature. But he has the consciousness of having served his own generation by the will of God. And we, seeking to offer an appreciation not only of his great service, but of his great sacrifice, can take pleasure in the thought that he is still in his intellectual prime, and while continuing, as we desire, the services so valuable to us, may yet accomplish some other work, sure to be invaluable to us because worthy of him; possibly erecting his monument out of the very stones that he had quarried.

William S. Pelletreau, a first authority on Long Island history, and whose genealogical investigations have covered the entire United States, is a descendant of Huguenot ancestors who left their native France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and were among the earliest settlers of Southampton, Long Island. His grandfather and father were famed as silversmiths throughout Long Island and the Eastern States. His mother was the daughter of Colonel Isaac Welles of Westfield, Massachusetts, a lineal descendant of Governor Thomas Welles, famous in the early history of that colony. She was a lady of very superior education and mental ability, of deep religious feeling and worthy of her illustrious ancestry.

William S. Pelletreau, son of William S. and Elizabeth (Welles) Pelletreau, was born in Southampton, July 19, 1840. His early education was obtained at the village school and at Southampton Academy. Having few amusements in his early years, his attention was turned to study, in which he made more than ordinary proficiency, especially in the study of languages.

In 1861 he was elected town clerk of Southampton, and from this was led to devote his life to study and writing on historical and



William S. Pelletreau.
June 12, 1915.

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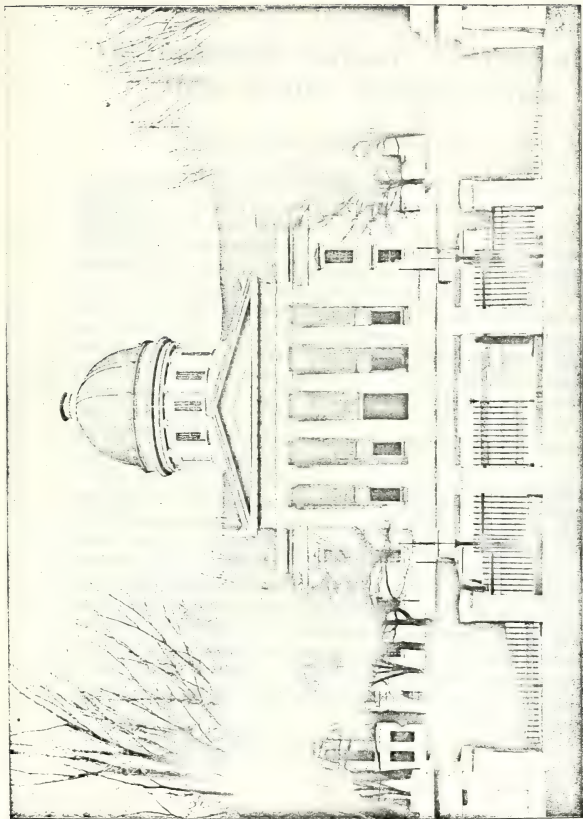
genealogical subjects. When he entered the office of clerk, the records of the town (the oldest in the State, and dating back to 1639) were in a chaotic condition, and all but illegible. He at once undertook the almost hopeless task of collecting and arranging them in chronological order, and transcribing them. The dilapidated books were then strongly bound, and may last for generations to come; and in this manner the oldest records of the oldest town were rescued from utter destruction. Having succeeded in arousing public interest in the subject, a vote was passed at the town meeting in 1873, authorizing the printing of the first "Book of Records." This work, which was performed under the direction of Mr. Pelletreau, was the first of the kind ever printed on Long Island, and attracted immediate attention. It was very favorably reviewed in the newspapers and historical magazines, and through the influence of Howard Crosby, LL.D., Chancellor of the University of the City of New York, that institution conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts. The second and third volumes were printed at a later date. Since then his entire life was devoted to historical research. Among the many works he wrote may be mentioned histories of Greene county and Rockland county, New York, the genealogical portion of the "History of Westchester County;" "History of Putnam County, New York;" "Records of Smithtown, Long Island;" "Early New York Houses;" "Early Long Island Wills." Probably the most important works are four volumes of "Abstracts of New York Wills," eleven volumes, prepared as part of the "Collection of the New York Historical Society." These volumes contain very carefully prepared abstracts of all the wills and documents contained in the first eighteen books of Wills in the New York Surrogate's office, and are a mine of historical and genealogical knowledge.

Mr. Pelletreau was a life member of the New York Historical Society, and was connected with the Huguenot Society of America. He never married. He retained the ownership of the old family home of colonial days, but made his residence in New York City, where he died, January 6, 1918, aged seventy-seven years. He was a real gentleman of the old school, genial, modest, and well poised. His remains were interred in the old cemetery at Southampton,

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Long Island, where many generations of his ancestors rest. He survived all his twelve brothers and sisters. Among the latter was Miss Helen E. Pelletreau, for many years president of the Pennsylvania College for Women, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.





VERMONT STATE HOUSE, MONTPELIER

The Founding of Vermont: The Controversy Over the New Hampshire Grant

BY JOEL N. ENO, A. M., BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.



AMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN, who in 1608 established a trading post at Quebec, the first permanent French settlement in Canada, the next summer, desiring to explore the country southward, joined a party of Hurons going against the Iroquois, and discovered the lake early known as the Lake of the Iroquois, but which afterward bore the name of Champlain; but as the business of the French in Canada was the fur trade, not settlement, they did not find occasion or need to build any post within the limits of what is now called Vermont, until 1665, when they built Fort St. Anne, on Isle La Motte, in the north end of Lake Champlain, and left there Capt. LaMotte de la Luciere as commandant, with a garrison of sixty men. In 1696, seigniories were granted in the vicinity, and there were a few settlers in what are now the townships of Alburgh and Swanton.¹

The first white inhabitants at Chimney Point, at the junction of the southern narrow part with the broad part of Lake Champlain, near the east side, in the present town of Addison, are identified by historians as the following: Governor Dongan in a letter to Capt. Palmer, Sept. 8, 1687, asks him to inform King James II. that he (Dongan) proposes to build a fort at Corlear's Lake (Lake Champlain), at the pass in the lake 150 miles north from Albany;² and on March 31, 1690, acting Governor Leisler wrote to the Bishop of Salisbury that he had sent to the pass on the lake, sixty men (under Captains Abraham Schuyler and DeWarm) to maintain it as an outpost.³ DeWarm built here a little fort, some say of stone, abandoned

1. Robinson's Vermont, p. 19.
2. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N. Y., vol. 3, p. 477.
3. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N. Y., vol. 3, p. 700.

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ere long; but the French built here a blockhouse and windmill in 1730, and probably repaired the fort built by De Warm. In 1731 they built Fort Frederic, a few miles farther south, on the west side of the lake, at a place which they called Point a la Chevelure (Scalp Point), later known by its corresponding English, Crown Point.⁴ In 1743 a seignory in this vicinity, four by five leagues, was registered at Quebec; and 1745 to 1759, a settlement extended north four miles. The Chimney Point fort was used by roving bands of French as headquarters and refuge. Another post was at the site of the present Colchester, near the mouth of the Winooski river; but all of the French settlements were abandoned by 1759, in the French and Indian war.

In the southeastern portion of the present town of Brattleboro, the government of Massachusetts in 1724 built Fort Dummer, on what it supposed was Massachusetts territory; this was the first settlement of whites which proved permanent, in what is now Vermont, New Hampshire also being under the same government during most of its existence until 1741; it established temporarily also Sartwell's Fort and Bridgman's Fort, in the present town of Vernon, and a post at Fort Hill, in Putney.

In 1741 New Hampshire was made a separate royal province, and Benning Wentworth was appointed its Governor, the bounds of his province being described as follows, as it had no charter:

George the Second . . . King . . . etc. To our Trusty and well-beloved Benning Wentworth, Esq., Greeting: Know you that we . . . have thought fit to constitute and appoint you the said Benning Wentworth to be our Governor and Commander in chief of our province of New Hampshire, bounded on the south side by a similar curve line pursuing the curve of Merrimac River at three miles distance on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic Ocean and ending at a point due North of a place called Pautucket Falls, and by a straight line drawn from thence due West cross the said River till it meets with out other Governments, and bounded on the south (north?) side by a line passing up through the mouth of Piscataqua Harbour, and up the middle of the River to the River of Newichwannock, part of which is called Salmon Fall, and through the middle of the same to the furthest head thereof, and

4. Hiland Hall, Early Hist. of Vt., p. 2.

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GOVERNOR BENNING WENTWORTH

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from thence north two degrees Westerly untill one hundred and twenty miles be finished from the mouth of Piscataqua Harbour abovesaid, or until it meets with our other Governments.

Given at Whitehall July the 3d in the 15th Year of his Majesty's Reign.⁵

This description left the western boundary, "our other governments," Gov. Wentworth assuming that his province met New York on a continuation of the same line which divided Massachusetts from New York. This was the position of the New Hampshire-Massachusetts boundary conference, 1719.⁶ In 1749, after King George's war between England and France was ended, he received a petition for a grant of lands at the extreme western terminus of the territory claimed by New Hampshire, and touching both the boundary of Massachusetts and the assumed boundary of New York. Thereupon he wrote a letter to Gov. Clinton of New York.

Portsmouth, Nov. 17, 1749. Sir I have it in command from His Majesty to make grants of the unimproved lands within my Government to Such of the Inhabitants and others, as shall apply for Grants for the Same, as will oblige themselves to settle and improve, agreeably to his Majesty's Instructions. The war hitherto has prevented me . . . but . . . people are daily applying for Grants of Land in all Quarters of this Government, and particularly some for townships to be laid out in the Western part thereof, which will fall in the neighborhood of your Government. I think it my duty to apprise you thereof, and to transmit to your Excellency the description of New Hampshire as the King has determined it in the words of my Commission; which, after you have considered . . . you will be pleased to give me your sentiments in that manner it will affect the Grants made by you or preceding Governours. . . .

In consequence of his Majesty's determination of the boundaries between New Hampshire and the Massachusetts A Surveyor and proper Chainmen were appointed to run the Western line, from three miles north of Pautucket Falls. And the Surveyor upon Oath has declared that it strikes Hudsons River about 80 poles between where Mohawks River comes into Hudsons River; which I presume is North of the City of Albany, for which Reason it will be necessary for me to be informed how far north of Albany the Government of New York Extends by his Majesty's Commission to your Excel-

5. Doc. Hist. of N. Y., vol. 4, p. 331-2.

6. Belknap, Hist. of N. Y., vol. 1, p. 191.

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lency; and how many miles to the Eastward of Hudson's River, to the Northward of the Massachusetts Line, that I may Govern myself accordingly. . . .

B. WENTWORTH.⁷

Governor Clinton not replying immediately, Gov. Wentworth granted the township of Bennington in January, 1749-50; and in April received from Gov. Clinton the following:

In Council New York, 3 April, 1750.

Ordered that his Excellency do acquaint Gov. Wentworth that the Province is bounded Eastward by Connecticut River, the letters Patent from King Charles the 2d to the Duke of York Expressly granting all the lands from the west side of Connecticut River to the East side of Delaware Bay.⁸

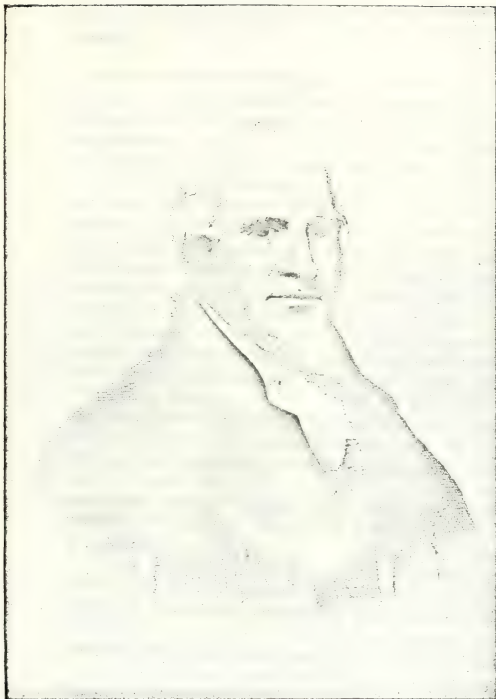
A renewed grant to the Duke of York was made June 29 (New Style, July 9), 1674, after the reoccupation by the Dutch in 1673, with very little change in the wording from the original grant of March 12 (22), 1663-4, which follows:

Charles the Second . . . etc. . . . Know ye that wee by these presents for us our heirs and Successors Do Give and Grant unto our Dearest Brother James Duke of York his Heirs and Assigns All that part of the Maine Land of New England beginning at a certain place called or known by the name of St. Croix next adjoining to New Scotland in America and from thence extending along the Sea Coast unto a certain place called Petuaquine or Pemaquid and so up the River thereof to the furthest head of the same as it tendeth Northwards and extending from thence to the River Kinebequi and so upwards by the shortest course to the River Canada Northward. And also all that Island or Islands commonly called by the several name or names of Matowacks or Long Island situate lying and being towards the West of Cape Cod and the Narrow Higansetts abutting upon the maine land between the two Rivers there called or known by the several names of Connecticut and Hudsons River together also with the said River called Hudsons River and all the Land from the West side of Connecticut (River) to the East side of Delaware Bay and also all those several Islands called or known by the Names of Martin's Vinyard and Nantukes otherwise Nantucket.⁹ . . .

7. Doc. Hist. of N. Y., vol. 4, p. 331.

8. Doc. Hist. of N. Y., vol. 4, p. 332.

9. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N. Y., vol. 2, pp. 295-8.



GEORGE CLINTON

First Governor of New York, serving 1777-95, 1801-04; was most active as a General in the Revolution, and Vice-President 1805-12. Born at Little Britain, N. Y., July 26, 1739; died at Washington, D. C., April 20, 1812. From the painting by Ezra Ames.

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(The Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N. Y. have "West side of Connecticut," which accords with the agreement between Connecticut and New Netherland already existing when the grant to the Duke was made.)

Governor Wentworth writes to Governor Clinton, April 25, 1750, in reply to the "opinion that Connecticut River is the Eastern Boundary of New York Government, which would have been entirely satisfactory to me . . . had not the two Charter Governments of Connecticut and the Massachusetts Bay extended their bounds many miles to the Westward of said River; and it being the opinion of his Majesty's Council of this Government, whose Advice I was to take on these Occasions, that New Hampshire had an equal right to claim the same extent of Western boundarys with those Charter Government, I had in consequence of their advice before your Letter came to my hands, granted one township due north of the Massachusetts Line of the Contents of six miles square, and by measurement 24 miles east of the city of Albany, presuming that this Government was bounded by the same North and South Line with Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay, before it met with his Majesty's other Governments. . . . It will therefore give me great satisfaction, if you can inform me by what Authority Connecticut and the Massachusetts Government claimed so far to the Westward as they have settled, and in the meantime I shall desist from Making any further Grants on the Western Frontier of my Government, that may have the least probability of Interfering with your Government."¹⁰ The above (Bennington) township charter was dated Jan. 3, 1749-50.

Clinton replies June 6, 1750: "As to Connecticut, their claim is founded upon an agreement with this Government, in or about the year 1684, afterwards confirmed by King William; in consequence of which the Lines between the two Governments were run and the Boundaries marked in the year 1725. But it is presumed that the Massachusetts Government at first possessed themselves of those Lands by Intrusion, and through the negligence of this Government have hitherto continued in their possession the Lands not being pri-

10. Doc. Hist. of N. Y., vol. 4, p. 332.

vate Property. From Information I have, there is Reason to apprehend that the Lands within the township you have lately granted, or part of them, have been granted here."¹¹

The western boundary of Connecticut being the basis of decision and the pivotal point of the controversy, we trace its history from the accession of the Duke's government in New York, Oct. 13, 1664, within six weeks after the surrender of New Netherland, the Connecticut Assembly appointed five commissioners, at their head Governor Winthrop, who had been a party to the surrender by the Dutch, to agree upon and settle with the king's commissioners the boundary line between the colony and the new province granted to the Duke. The award of boundaries is as follows:

By virtue of his Majesty's commission we have heard the difference about the bounds of the patents granted to his royal highness the Duke of York, and his Majesty's colony of Connecticut alleged by Mr. Allyn Senior, Mr. Gold, Mr. Richards, and Capt. Winthrop; and having diligently considered all the reasons. . . . We do declare and order that the southern bounds of his Majesty's colony of Connecticut is the sea, and that Long Island is to be under the government of his royal highness the Duke of York as is so expressed in said patents respectively. And also by virtue of his Majesty's commission and by the consent of both the Governors and the gentlemen above named, we also order and declare that the creek or river called Mamaroneck which is reputed to be about thirteen miles to the east of Westchester, and a line drawn from the east point or side where the fresh water falls into the salt, at high water mark, north-north-west to the line of the Massachusetts be the western bounds of said colony of Connecticut; and all plantations lying westward of that creek and line so drawn to be under his royal highness' government, and all plantations lying eastward of that creek and line to be under the government of Connecticut.

Given under our hands at James Fort in New York on the island of Manhattan, this 4th day of December, 1664. (Signed by Richard Nicolls, George Cartwright, S. Mavericke.)

We the Governor and Commissioners of the General Assembly of Connecticut, do give our consent to the limits and bounds above mentioned, as witness our hands. (Signed by John Winthrop, Allyn Senior, Richards, Gold, John Winthrop, Jr.)¹²

11. Doc. Hist. of N. Y., vol. 4, p. 333.

12. H. Hall, *Early Hist. of Vt.*, p. 24, Doc. of N. Y. Senate, 1857, vol. 4, p. 102, and Smith, *Hist. of N. Y.*, vol. 1, pp. 36-37.

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Referring to this decision, transmitted to the Duke, Gov. Nicolls himself writes to the Duke of York, November, 1665:

I have formerly rendered account of the decision and settlement of the bounds between Your R. Hs. and the Patent of Conecticot made by his Majties Commissioners and the Governor and Council of Conecticott, wherein five towns were relinquished to Conecticott by virtue of their praecedent graunt from his Majesty, although the same tracts of land were given to your R. Hs to the utter ruine of that Colony and a manifest breach of their late patent, which determination was a leading case of aequall Justice and of good consequence to all the Colonies, and therefore wee were well assured would be an acceptable service to Your R. Hs though to the diminution of your bounds; so that to the East of New Yorke and Hudsons River, nothing considerable remains to Your R. Hs except Long Isl- and and about twenty miles from any part of Hudsons River. I looke therefore upon all the rest as onely empty names and places, possest forty yeares by former grants, and of no consequence to Your R. Hs except all N. England could be brought to submitt to Your R. Hs his patent.¹³

The "Patent of Conecticott," and "praecedent graunt," was the charter of Connecticut, dated April 23, 1662,¹⁴ and given by Charles II., which clearly had priority of claim before the same King's grant to the Duke of York, dated March 12(22), 1664; and granted a tract extending from Narragansett river on the east to the South Sea (Pacific Ocean) on the west, right across New Netherland, whose claims to the territory the king and his predecessors denied. Though the king and his brother were willing to disregard the moral rights of the Dutch, and also of the Connecticut possessors, prudence made them keep in view the legal rights guaranteed by charter; a position exemplified in the king's comments written to Gov. Andros, 28 Jan., 1675-6, on the repetition in the patent of June 20, 1674, of the boundaries of the patent of 1664; Andros, on the strength of the later patent, demanding all the land west of Connecticut river, which the king "approved, in order to keep the title clear; but at present not willing you should proceed further . . . and in the interim though the agreement by the commissioners in 1664 were never con-

13. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N. Y., vol. 3, p. 106.

14. Macdonald, *Select Charters*, pp. 116-119 (Conn.), and 137-9 (Patent of N. Y.)

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firmed by me, I soe far approve of the prudence of Coll. Nicholls at that time, as to admitt by noe means of any nearer accesse of those of Connecticut than to the mouth of Marinac (or Mamaronock) river and along the edge of it, provided they come to noe place within twenty miles distance of Hudsons River.”¹⁵

In fact, the king and the duke could hardly fail to remember that it had been unmistakably proved, in the case of their own father, Charles I., that in England the king was not above, but amenable to, the law.

The agreement as to the details for drawing the boundary line were fixed under Gov. Dongan, Nov. 28, 1683, approved by King William III, in Council, March 14, 1699, and confirmed March 28, 1700, in which confirmation the bounds are recapitulated; the line was surveyed October, 1684, beginning at Byram river, the first reach, 1 1-2 miles added to the second, 6 1-2 miles completing the 8 miles ordered for the first line north-northwest (or to be exact, 7 miles and 120 rods brought the line to its nearest point to the Hudson); thence parallel to the Sound, or northeast, 12 miles, till the farthest point or 20 miles from the Hudson is reached; thence 8 miles north-northwest, thence nearly due north 100 miles to the Massachusetts line.¹⁶

The next step is the Massachusetts boundary, whose junction with the Connecticut boundary is defined by the Commissioners of 1664 as the ending point of the “western bounds of said colony of Connecticut;” hence at this junction it was at least as far west as the point it met. Dongan himself writes of the meagerness of his province to the Lords of Trade, Feb. 22, 1687: “What was good and did lie convenient and near the sea, for ye most part is taken from us by Connecticut and East and West Jersey. What is left is pretty well settled,”¹⁷ “which did not apply or was not true of territory north or east of the mouth of the Mohawk river; and New York had no settlement whatever at that time within the present bounds of Vermont.” Gov. Sloughter writes to the governors of the other colonies, July 11, 1691: “I doubt not but you are very sensible of the many

15. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. 3, p. 235.

16. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. 4, pp. 625-9.

17. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. 3, p. 397.

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branches that have been lopped off from this government in the late reigns, and that it is now confined to a great narrowness, haveing only Hudson's River and Long Island for the bounds."¹⁸

At the time of the original grant to the Duke of York, Massachusetts had Springfield, Northampton and Hatfield, west of the Connecticut river; in 1666, Westfield, farther west; in 1722, two townships on the Housatonic river; but it was not till 1725, with the laying out of Sheffield near the southwestern corner of the colony, that it first meets with claimants from New York, namely: Lieut. Gov. Clarke, who claimed that its lands came within 16 miles from the Hudson, and included lands (Livingston patent) granted by New York in 1688;^{18½} that is, it fell within the assumed 20 mile limit. That it had not occurred to the government until 1738 to claim for that colony eastward to the Connecticut river under the old charter to the Duke, seems to be incontrovertibly shown by an official report then made by the Surveyor General, C. Colden, Feb. 14, 1738, (after being Surveyor-General for 15 years). He makes no mention of the Connecticut river as a boundary, but bounds the province instead by the colonies Massachusetts and Connecticut. Massachusetts, by her charter of March 4(14), 1628-9, like Connecticut, extended to the South Sea; this charter in 1684 was annulled; but William III granted her a new charter Oct. 7(17), 1691, which, while it subtracted from her self-government, even added largely to her territory. At a conference at New Haven, of the Commissioners of New York and Massachusetts on boundaries, as late as Oct. 1, 1767, Massachusetts at first would agree to a line 12 miles from the Hudson, then one at 16 miles; New York, to a line 30, then 24 miles east from the Hudson; and finally to the line recommended by the Board of Trade in 1757, viz: "That a line to be drawn Northerly from a point on the South boundary line of the Massachusetts Bay twenty miles distant due East from Hudson's river, to another point 20 miles distant due East from the said river, on that line which divides the provinces of New Hampshire and the Massachusetts Bay, would be a just and equitable line of division between your Majesty's provinces of Mass. Bay and New

¹⁸. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. 3, p. 785.

^{18½}. H. Hall, Early Hist. of Vt., p. 34, and Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. 7, p. 206.

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York;”¹⁹ the objection of New York to this was that it assumed the course of the Hudson river to be due north and south, while it is east of north; and proposed in lieu of it, a line 20 miles from the Hudson, run by lines at right angles to the general course of the river. The line was finally settled May 18, 1773, beginning at a place fixed by New York and Connecticut for the northwest corner of the Oblong, and running north 21 degrees 10 min. 30 sec. east to the north line of Massachusetts Bay (province).

As the boundary was not arbitrated by a third party until 1764, the above evidences indicate that in the negotiations between Massachusetts and New York previous to that time, New York tacitly accepted or actually in words implied, the 20 mile line as in the agreement with Connecticut. Moreover, it accepted the charter boundary on the west of New York; the Duke’s grant extending no farther west than the east side of Delaware bay; from that bound westward, Massachusetts and Connecticut grants stood as before, as the part of New York west of Connecticut was that comparatively narrow projection between the Mamaroneck or 20 mile line and the Delaware, nothing fell here to Connecticut, which, starting from the Delaware, still continued westward through Pennsylvania to the Pacific ocean. With Massachusetts, however, New York had to settle for her extension farther west than any part of the Delaware, on Dec. 16, 1786, by giving to Massachusetts the pre-emption right to six million acres in western New York about 2,200,000 acres of which right Massachusetts sold to Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts for \$1,000,000, to be paid for settlement of the Indian claims, the date of the sale being April 21, 1788,²⁰ the Massachusetts charter of 1691 holding, because it laid out the grant “towards the South Sea or westward as far as our Collonyes of Rhode Island, *Connecticut*, and the Narragansett Countrey,” and the Connecticut charter and grant of 1662 was never revoked. In fact, as the colony charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut gave those colonies complete self-government, reserving no authority to the king, and were otherwise satisfactory, the charters were used in lieu of Constitu-

19. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. 7, p. 224.

20. Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 3, p. 646.

tions of those States in Connecticut until 1818, and in Rhode Island until 1842. After the formation of the United States, Massachusetts, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Connecticut transferred their claims, patented to the South Sea, but practically realized only to the Mississippi,—to the United States; Virginia reserving a tract of Military lands, and Connecticut the Western Reserve in Ohio, until they could turn their avails to the destined purpose.

The reason is now evident why both Connecticut and Massachusetts considered further settlements on the tract east of the 20 mile line no intrusion, nor a justification of a dog-in-the-manger policy on the part of New York, to shut their settlers out of lands which she through "negligence" failed to settle herself; and they had settled several towns in the Litchfield and the Berkshire hills before 1749.

Such was the situation before Governor Clinton and Gov. Wentworth in 1750. Both agreed to lay "representations" of the matter before the king. Wentworth made the first approach, writing to the Board of Trade Mar. 23, 1750-1, concerning the boundary;²¹ it was complained afterward that he did not communicate his representation to Gov. Clinton. As Gov. Clinton seemed to be doing nothing in the matter, Gov. Wentworth, in answer to petitions, began to grant occasionally a township; this did not determine whether its jurisdiction should be under New Hampshire or New York government; for the determination of jurisdiction the king reserves to himself in his own (or royal) provinces, acting usually through the medium of special commissioners, as Gov. Nicolls sets forth to the Colony of Massachusetts, June 12, 1668: "And for the better praevention of all differences and disputes upon the bounds and limitts of the severall Colonies His Maties pleasure is that all determinations made by His Maties Commissioners with reference to the said bounds and limitts may still continue to be observed till upon a full representation of all praetences His Matie shall make his owne finall determination, etc., which very words you will find in yr owne letter from his Matie concluding thus: 'And His Matie expects that full obedience be given to this signification of his pleasure in all particulars.

21. Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 4, p. 341.

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Given at the Court at Whitehall the 10th day of Aprill 1666 . . .
by His Maties Command. Wm. Morrice.' ”²²

The evidence which appears even in the New York records, indicates that Wentworth was justified in considering that the wording of the patent to the Duke of York in March, 1664, immediately preceding his conquest of New Netherland from the Dutch, was not intended as a layout of a definite boundary, but so expressed as to be sure to include all the lands which the Dutch held in New Netherland, and that it was rendered “obsolete,” or of no force, by the award of the Commissioners directly after the transfer to the English, and by the Dongan agreement, and all other known precedents. “But whatever its design, it was found by the Commissioners that a large portion of the territory described by its language, had been long held by others, under previous grants, to which the Duke could have no valid claim, and that therefore his interest, as well as the demands of justice, required that the Connecticut river should be relinquished as an eastern boundary, and a line established toward the Hudson river”²³ . . . corresponding very nearly with that which had been previously accepted as its eastern boundary by New Netherland, in 1663, for Connecticut; while the Report of the King’s Commissioners concerning Massachusetts names “its just limits, wch ye Comissrs find to be Seconnet Brook on ye Southwest and Merrimack River on the North East, and two right lines drawn from each of these two places till they come within twenty miles of Hudsons River; for that is already planted and given to His Royall Highness.”²⁴

The records of both parties to the joint boundaries between New York and the two colonies, Massachusetts and Connecticut, agree, and are further confirmed in the course of the controversy. There is also convincing evidence to justify the statement that the northern part of the territory now New York, was “unknown” to those who drew up the patents to the Duke of York. Schenectady was the northernmost New York settlement in 1690. From thence northward to the St. Lawrence was the territory of the Iroquois Indians; and it

22. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist., vol. 3, pp. 170-1.

23. H. Hall, Early Hist. Vt., p. 25.

24. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist., vol. 3, p. 112.

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took long wars between the French and English to determine to which its jurisdiction should belong, and was not decided until 1759; the French claiming as belonging to Canada all the lands drained by the tributaries of the St. Lawrence, building forts to command both ends of Lake Champlain. Before the wars, New York claimed the Iroquois country only indirectly, through the jurisdiction of their allies, the Iroquois, as a protectorate; the French on like grounds might claim the Abenaki country from Lake Champlain eastward, as they had been allies and protectors of the Abenakis or Algonquins, from the time of the arrival of Champlain. Surveyor-General Colden, who afterwards as Lieutenant-Governor was one of the most strenuous advocates of the New York claims against Wentworth's grants, in describing the boundaries of New York, Feb. 14, 1738, after giving the south and west bounds, writes, "From thence it continues to extend easterly along the boundaries of Canada to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; then southerly along the boundaries of Massachusetts Bay, and of the Colony of Connecticut, to the Sound, between Long Island and the main."²⁵ This last boundary corresponded precisely with Wentworth's assumption "that this Government was bounded by the same North and South Line with Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay, before it met with his Majesty's other Governments," that is, in this case, New York. New Hampshire having been a part of Massachusetts from 1641 to 1679, and under the same Governor till 1741, except for the intervals 1680 to 1690, and 1691 to 1699, her boundaries had not been distinctly settled until 1740, and as Massachusetts' charter made her north bound three miles north of the Merrimac, it was taken as meaning three miles north of its source, or the Pemigewasset, thence westward to the South sea, except for the conflicting claim of New York.

When Wentworth began his administration as Governor, New Hampshire had only 28 towns, granted by Massachusetts, these being in the southeastern part of the colony; but very properly and necessarily, if he was not to rule over a wilderness, he had authority from the king to make grants of unimproved lands to applicants who

25. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist., vol. 6, pp. 124-5.

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would settle and improve them; naturally he was very desirous to increase the settlements under his government, and had promptly started the boundary matter on the way to the king, whose prerogative it was to settle it; and had also apprised Gov. Clinton of his intention to make his first grant; and having had no withdrawal or restriction of his power to grant, considered the interests of his colony the paramount issue. He made the first grant of Halifax May 11, 1750; of Wilmington, April 30, 1751; renewed the New Taunton grant made by Massachusetts in 1735, as the township of Westminster, Nov. 9, 1752; and made the Rockingham grant Dec. 30, 1752.²⁶ In 1753 he had several petitions from companies of Massachusetts men for grants in the same (southern) part of the tract west of the Connecticut, and granted Newfane, Poultney, Putney, Stamford, Townshend, and Brattleboro; and three townships in the early part of 1754. The French and Indian war coming on, no more grants were made until 1760; and the danger of making new settlements caused most of the earlier grants to lapse; one of the usual conditions being that "every grantee is to plant or cultivate five acres for every fifty, within five years," or forfeit his share. For example, Newfane, granted as Fane, June 21, 1753, and Chester, granted as Flamstead Feb. 25, 1754, were so forfeited. But after the French and Indian war had ceased in America in 1760, and the exposed tract now Vermont was freed from that danger, petitions for grants and regrants were very numerous.

A township grant was usually about 23,040 acres, or equivalent to six miles square, divided into sixty or more equal shares; every proprietor to pay one shilling proclamation money for every hundred acres, as quitrent to the king, for every year after the expiration of ten years from the date of the town charter; 500 acres to be reserved in each township for the Governor, one share for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, for the use of the first settled minister, and one share for a glebe.²⁷

The Governor's fee for the giving of a town charter was often \$100, but not uniform; it reached in some instances £250; the quit-

26. N. H. Town Charters, vol. 3, pp. 207, 378, 541, 557.

27. N. H. Town Charters, vol. 3, charters of Arlington, Barnet, Bennington, etc.

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rent to the king was pretty regularly one shilling per 100 acres, but sometimes only one ear of Indian corn. Instances of Gov. Wentworth's fees are: Rutland, \$100; Underhill, \$230.41; Barnet £219 currency, then worth about \$700; the currency or bills being of course in pounds, shillings, and pence, and depreciated in value so that the half of the Governor's salary paid in bills, £250, was within a few years worth only thirty five-sixths of its face or value when voted by the Assembly in 1741; and the other half, based on the exercise, could not be collected.^{27½} The patent fees in New York were according to New York records themselves, much higher, and included fees to six officials besides the Governor. The difference in fee may help to explain why so many more sought patents from New Hampshire than afterwards from New York. The petitioners for township grants were mostly Connecticut and Massachusetts people, and a still stronger reason was the town incorporation or self-government privileges; for example, the charter of Addison reads "And that the same be and is incorporated into a township by the Name of Addison, and that the Inhabitants that do or Shall hereafter Inhabit Said Township Are hereby Declared to be Enfranchised with and Intitled to all & every the Priviledges & Immunities that other Towns within our Said Province by Law Exercise & Enjoys."²⁸ These were the same privileges enjoyed by towns in the charter governments Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, many of which in New York are vested in the county now; and in the Governor and Council then, considerably. In pine-bearing districts, reserve was made, in either province, of pines suitable for masts and ship-timber, for the royal navy.

Gov. Wentworth's understanding of the boundary line between New England and New York was the common understanding in England all along, as shown in the "Geography of the Earth" published in London in 1709, in which New England is separated from New York by a line from near the Hudson to Lake Champlain and along it to Canada; in maps of the British-American Plantations, in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1754, 1755, 1757, 1762, 1763, and in

^{27½}. Belknap, *Hist. N. H.*, vol. 1, p. 323.

²⁸. *N. H. Town Charters*, vol. 3, pp. 3-5.

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others, such as Dr. Mitchell's "Map of the British and French Dominions in North America," 1755, and the map in the Report of the English Commissioners, entitled "Memorials of the English and French Commissioners concerning Nova Scotia or Acadia," published at London, 1755. The New York officials mention Blau & Ogilby's map as upholding the Connecticut river as boundary, however. The fundamental principle of Wentworth's contention was that by the government decision of 1740, the three miles north of the Merri-mac stated in the Massachusetts charter as the northern boundary of that colony, was to be taken on the east and west course near the mouth, and not from the source; he understood that New Hampshire as in his instructions had the same western boundaries marked for the same tract when it stood under the name of Massachusetts. Hunter, after being Governor of New York from 1710 to 1719, in answer to the query of the Lords of Trade, "What are the reputed boundaries thereof" (that is, of New York)? answers, "Its boundaries East, a parallel twenty miles distant from Hudsons River."²⁹

Before considering further movements in the controversy, we note the recapitulation of the New York side in Gov. Tryon's Proclamation of Dec. 11, 1771: "That the Representation containing a Statement of the Claims of New York was forwarded to the proper office about the close of the Year 1751; and incroachments having been made by inhabitants of New Hampshire on Lands and possessions of his Majesty's subjects of New York, this Government, on the 28 July, 1753, issued proclamation for apprehending all persons who should thereafter under color of title from New Hampshire, take possession of Lands granted by this province. Incursions of Indians obstructing all new settlements, the matter rested till . . . 20 July, 1764," the date when the boundary was decided by the king. As Wentworth had not waited for the king's decision before beginning to issue patents, so Clinton had not waited for the king's decision before threatening arrest by force, against the grantees receiving New Hampshire patents; between the last two dates, therefore, the conflict was between the Governors; the Governor of New York claiming not only the right, but the exclusive right to grant

29. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. 5, p. 555, and vol. 7, p. 224.

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lands in the disputed territory, even to the use of force to exclude Wentworth who had the same relation of royal governor, to the king; and nominally equal in authority to grant lands; so that if it was dishonorable in Wentworth to grant lands while the decision was pending, it was equally so for the Governor of New York to do so. Why then did the latter threaten to use force to oust the New Hampshire grantees, and substitute his own? There were two chief causes why he dared to do this; first, because New York having more and stronger supporters of the prerogatives of the king than any other of the thirteen colonies, their support of the king entitled them to his support of their measures; secondly, the profits of grants, to the Governor and his land-speculating friends. In 1760, war-peril having passed, large numbers of petitions from intending settlers came to Wentworth; and he prepared to locate the settlers; Joseph Blanchard was commissioned to lay off townships every six miles up the Connecticut river on both sides; three rows of townships were laid out east of the 20 mile line from the Massachusetts boundary north to Poultney; and two tiers thence north to Burlington. In 1761, Hubartus Neal continued the survey from Blanchard's northern limit up the Connecticut to the present Lemington; from his first grant in 1749 to the decision 1764, Wentworth granted 129 townships, 4 regrants, 4 renewals, 6 individual grants west of the Connecticut. Lieut. Gov. Colden, roused to the danger to New York's claim, on Dec. 28, 1763,³⁰ ordered New York officers to exercise jurisdiction as far as the Connecticut river, and wrote also to the British Board of Trade a vigorous letter for that claim; and though Gov. Wentworth issued a counter proclamation March 13, 1764, to New Hampshire officers to exercise jurisdiction as far westward as grants of land have been made by this Government;³¹ his power in the region west of the Connecticut was near its close; for the following was being drawn up: "At the Court of St. James, 20 July, 1764. . . . Order in Council fixing the boundary between N. Y. & N. H. His Majesty doth . . . hereby Order and Declare the Western Banks of the River Connecticut from where it enters the

30. Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 4, pp. 346-351.

31. Doc. Hist. of N. Y., vol. 4, p. 355.

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Province of Massachusetts Bay, as far as the Forty-fifth degree of Northern Latitude, to be the Boundary Line between the said two Provinces of New Hampshire and New York." "His Majesty" was George III.

On account of the poverty of the "Grants," and the sickness and death of Robinson, their claims were inadequately presented.

This order does not seem to have reached Gov. Wentworth until after the middle of October, for his last grant in this region, Wardsboro, is dated Oct. 17, 1764. Meanwhile, Sheriff Schuyler writes to Lieut. Gov. Colden "that the New Hampshire People had turned Hans Juery Creiger, an Inhabitant under the Proprietors of Hoseck Patent, out of possession of his Lands and Tenements; drove off his Cattle and took off with them a Parcel of Indian Corn; and for the Redemption of his Cattle compelled him to pay \$45; And . . . said New Hampshire People were the next Day to be at the Houses of Peter Voss and Bastian Deale, in order in Like Manner to dispossess them of their possessions, which they had peaceably enjoyed under the Proprietors of said Hoseck Patent for upwards of Thirty years past . . . But before I could get there, said New Hampshire People had already perpetrated their Design of turning the said Peter Voss and Bastian Deale out of their possessions, and claimed the same as belonging to the Province and under the jurisdiction of New Hampshire. Har. Schuyler, Sheriff. 17 Aug., 1764."³²

On the other side, Gov. Wentworth on the same day (Aug. 17) wrote a letter to Lieut. Gov. Colden "representing that Several of the Inhabitants of the town of Pownall . . . were set upon by the Sheriff of Albany, and more than 30 men on horseback, and that the Deputy Sheriff with three other principal Inhabitants were seized upon and carried to Albany, where they were immediately committed to gaol. And desirous that His Honour would give orders for the Release of the Prisoners so apprehended and committed, adding that it would be an act of cruelty to punish Individuals for Disputes between the two Governments, and that as the jurisdiction is the main thing in question, he is ready and willing to submit what concerns him to the King." The Council (4 Sept.) advised his

32. Doc. Hist. of N. Y., vol. 4, p. 356.

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Honor to "acquaint Gov. Wentworth with the circumstances of this Affair as reported to him by letter from the Sheriff of Albany, and that as the Parties were committed for an offence within the undoubted jurisdiction of this Province, for which they are to answer in a legal course of justice, he can do nothing further therein than to recommend that the Bail demanded be moderate, and that the Controversy respecting the different claim of Boundary made by each Provinces, already lies before his Majesty."³³

As the government of New York was evidently obnoxious to the settlers on the lands granted by Gov. Wentworth, Lieut. Gov. Colden deemed it best to profess that he meant them no injustice, and accordingly issued an "Order of the Governor and Council of New York, in Favor of the occupants under New Hampshire who were settled before the 22nd May, 1765," as follows:

The Council taking into consideration the case of those persons who are actually settled under the Grants of the Government of New Hampshire, on lands Westward of Connecticut River, and Eastward of Hudson's River; which by his Majesty's Order in Council of 20 day of July last are declared to be within the Jurisdiction of this Province; and that the dispossessing of such persons might be ruinous to themselves and their families, is of opinion, and it is accordingly ordered by his Honour the Lieut. Governor, with the Advice of the Council, that the Surveyor-General do not, until further Order, make Return on any Warrant of Survey already, or which may hereafter come into his hands, of any Lands so actually possessed under such Grants. unless for the Persons in actual possession thereof, as aforesaid; and that a Copy hereof be served on said Surveyor-General.³⁴

On October 9, 1765, was presented a "Petition for the erection of certain Counties in the northern part of this Province;" two on the Connecticut river, and three on the west side of the height (or ridge of the Green mountains); beginning at the Massachusetts line on the west bank of the Connecticut river; names also were proposed for these counties: Olden and Sterling, for those on the Connecticut, and Manchester, Kingsbury, and Pitt for the others. . . . So elaborate a division was not considered necessary by New York officials.

33. Doc. Hist. of N. Y., vol. 4, pp. 356-7.

34. Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 4, p. 357.

Hence on Oct. 15, a petition was made for a county between the Connecticut and the mountains, from Massachusetts line to 45 degrees north latitude; in order that the settlers may have law and justice; that is, among themselves, instead of being obliged to attend at distant Albany. The committee reported on the county plan, but recommended the use of justices of the peace, Oct. 22.³⁵ The new Governor, Moore, arrived in November, 1765.

On June 6, 1766, there was an order by the Governor and Council "that the claimants under New Hampshire sue out their grants, by a limited time, to prevent the preference of other petitioners. . . . That all persons holding or claiming lands under the Grants, do as soon as may be, appear by themselves or Attornies, and produce the same, together with all Deeds, Conveyances or other instruments by which they derive any title or claim to said Lands, before his Excellency in Council; and that the claims of such person or persons who shall not appear and support the same as aforesaid, within the space of three months from the date hereof, be rejected; and the Petitions already proposed for the said Lands forthwith proceeded upon; also that Notice hereof be given, by publishing this order three weeks successively in one or more of the public Newspapers printed in this City." (New York.)³⁶

On Jan. 20, 1766, twenty-one new justices were added to the fifty-five for the county of Albany, and the portion of "New Hampshire Grants" between the Connecticut river and the Green mountains was erected into Cumberland county, July 3, 1766; but a royal order of June 26, 1767, disallowed the act of the New York Legislature in erecting the county.³⁷

On the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1765, many petitions for grants were made; and as a result of the order that all claimants produce deeds, the claims of 96 townships were tested, of which 91 were decreed to be in New York, before his Majesty's order fixing the Connecticut river as a boundary, being within 20 miles of Hudson river and Lake Champlain; but only Bennington, Shaftesbury and Pownal had settlers and were confirmed. The rest waited until after

35. Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 4, pp. 358-361.

36. Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 4, p. 363.

37. Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 4, p. 375, (note).

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the time limit for settlement had expired, and reverted to the crown, by the conditions of the charters. Proceedings were had on 24 of the remaining number; four townships passed through all the forms, and their patents passed the great seal; three more were ready for signing, when the command came, to make no more grants; the remaining 48 had made no step except to claim, few having any settlers on them.

The order of the king in Council, forbidding the Governor of New York to make grants of any lands already patented by New Hampshire, issued from the Court of St. James, 24 July 1767.³⁸ It was well; not only to protect actual settlers who had obtained their lands from what was generally understood to be the proper authority to grant them; but also because many townships granted both by New Hampshire and by New York were being brought into the hands of groups of land speculators; in fact, these were the mainsprings of the controversy and furnished the means. Nearly all of Wentworth's grants were either in the southern half, or west of the Green Mountains; a few near the Connecticut, and he is said to have accumulated some wealth from the charter fees; but Clark, who was Governor of New York 1736 to 1741, is reported to have made £100,000 from his office; and Gov. Clinton accumulated £84,000 in ten years. The new restriction on the grants was the result of an appeal Nov. 1766, and March, 1767, to king George III, by the Wentworth grantees, since they had paid the fees, and yet New York's Lieut. Gov. Colden had declared all Wentworth's grants "null and void," and would give them no redress, but on the contrary regranted many of Wentworth's grants to New Yorkers on the pretence that the prohibition applied only to future grants; but the British government on Dec. 9, 1769, informed him that it applied to "any grants to be made of lands annexed to New York by his Majesty's determination of the boundary of New York and New Hampshire."³⁹ The order was reaffirmed in 1771, and never repealed. New York jurisdiction was feared, not only because it provided new government and laws, but annulled the titles to the lands which the Wentworth gran-

38. Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 4, pp. 375-6; and Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. 7, p. 917.

39. Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 4, p. 365.

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tees occupied; also numbers of men appeared in 1765 from New York city, acting for speculators there and accompanied by surveyors. These speculators obtained grants of the most valuable portion of their lands, and for the poorer lands the fees were fully equal to their value. Colden granted to his friends Attorney-General Kempe, James Duane, and Walter Rutherford, the rich valley of the Battenkill, 12 miles by 4, and Crean Brush obtained 10,000 acres in southwest Bennington and northwestern Pownal, actually occupied by Wentworth grantees at the time.⁴⁰ Sir Henry Moore succeeded Colden in 1766, and Samuel Robinson was sent as agent by the Wentworth settlers to the king, arriving in London early in 1767, and obtained the order of July 24. Moore dying Sept. 11, 1769, Lieut. Gov. Colden commenced new attacks on the settlers, claiming that the king's orders applied only to lands actually granted by New Hampshire,⁴¹ and he proceeded to issue new patents to speculators as fast as they furnished fees; granting indiscriminately not only lands not previously granted by New Hampshire, but some which had. The Walloomschack patent of 12,000 acres in Bennington covered the farm of James Breakenridge, on whom New York served a writ of ejectment Oct. 19, 1769, but found a number of men gathered, who would not disperse on order of Esquire John Munro; hence he withdrew and reported to Colden, who issued a proclamation for the apprehension of the men present, as rioters.⁴² At the ejectment trials in June, 1770, the Court declared the New Hampshire charters null and void. Ethan Allen as a proprietor under a New Hampshire charter, assisted the defendants, and the Bennington settlers voted to take the farms of Breakenridge and Fuller under the protection of the town, and to defend them against the New York officers at all hazards. There was a second attempt by Munro, and the indictment of sixteen leading men as rioters. He as justice of the peace of Albany county, succeeded in taking one man prisoner. The trial was at Bennington. Sheriff Ten Eyck made a general summons of the citizens of Albany, and on July 28, 1771, set out at the head of from 200 to 300 men variously armed, for Breakenridge's house, one and

40. N. Y. Calendar Land Papers, p. 316-7.

41. Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 4, p. 376.

42. H. Hall, Early Hist. Vt., pp. 117-126.



THREE STATUES OF ETHAN ALLEN, IN VERMONT

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one-half mile over the old New York line, arriving the next morning. The house was barricaded and held by 18 men; about 100 armed men were in the woods near, and in a field near the house a smaller body. The bridge one-half mile from Breakenridge's house was guarded, but Mayor Cuyler of Albany was allowed with a few others, to pass to the house. In reply to the question why so many men were assembled, Breakenridge assured him that he had no further concern with the farm, but "that the township had resolved to take the same under their protection, and that they intended to keep it."

The Mayor reported to the Sheriff, but only 20 to 30 of his party ~~Cheney~~ tried to cross. After a parley, he seized an axe and threatened to ~~direct~~ break open the door. The party in the field presenting their pieces toward him, he withdrew to try to take possession of Fuller's farm, ~~paten~~ but his posse melted away, many in Albany county being in sympathy with the New Hampshire grantees. On the farm of James ~~that~~ Breakenridge began the future State of Vermont; a military organization being forthwith formed by several townships west of the Green Mountains, called the "Green Mountain Boys," for the protection of their grants; the headquarters being at the Green Mountain tavern of Stephen Fay. The warnings of Bennington town ~~who~~ meetings till 1770 were headed "Province of New Hampshire," but ~~from~~ after that no province for some years was specified. The captain of ~~distr~~ the "Boys" was Seth Warner, a neighbor of Breakenridge, living ~~acres~~ three-fourths mile from the New York line. The contemporary history of the region north of Bennington county, (now Rutland county), shows that at the time of the proclamation of April 10, 1765, ~~drum~~ (that Connecticut river is the eastern boundary of New York,) more ~~Rutland~~ than two-thirds of the tract had been granted in sixteen townships. ~~that~~ Immediately after, Colden granted 12,000 acres as military patents ~~side~~ in the present county, principally in Benson, Fairhaven, and Pawlet; later, military patents for 26,000 acres were granted, of which ~~count~~ not less than 25,000 acres were granted after the order of July 24, 1767, forbidding all grants, "under penalty of incurring his Majesty's highest displeasure."⁴³ These military grants were mostly for the benefit of speculators; but far more land was granted in civil

43. Calendar N. Y. Land Papers, pp. 355-391 (1765), and H. Hall, pp. 506-511.

grants in Rutland county, 1770-1772, amounting to 222,500 acres, on which the Governor's fees were \$31.25 per 1000 acres; and among six other government officials, \$59 more; the total of these fees being \$20,080.62, of which the Governor had \$6953.12 leaving \$13,127.50 to be divided between the Secretary of the Province, the Clerk of the Council, the Auditor, the Receiver General, the Attorney General and the Surveyor General.⁴⁴ Nearly all the patentees were New York City speculators, who were well aware that most of the lands had been previously granted by New Hampshire, and many were settled under that title. They had no desire to occupy the lands themselves, but only to dispose of them at a profit, for which they directly disobeyed the royal order of 1767. Socialborough, 13 miles by 6, or 48,000 acres, was patented April 3, 1771, nominally to 48 patentees, but when the \$30,000 was paid at the final settlement of the "New Hampshire Grants" controversy, its distribution showed that 12,000 acres belonged to the clerk of the Council, and other government officials, and 15,000 acres to James Duane, the latter being a leading land speculator,—Duane having large holdings, i. e. Duanesburgh, Schenectady county, N. Y.; and the remaining 15,000 acres were unclaimed, probably because the proprietors were Tories who left the country before the settlement, 1790. The patent of Durham purported to grant 32,000 acres to 32 individuals; but on the distribution of the \$30,000 April 3, 1799, it was found that 14,225 acres belonged to city claimants, of which one-third was owned by James Duane.⁴⁵ From a statement in behalf of the Colony of New York in 1773, it was assumed that a patent from the New York government to Godfrey Delliuss in 1696 included a large tract in part in Rutland and Addison counties; but the patent itself shows clearly that not an acre of the tract could possibly have been on the east side of Lake Champlain, or in any part of Vermont.⁴⁶

There was wholesale land litigation from 1769 to 1776, requiring constant defence in New York courts, on the part of the inhabitants of the "Grants"; which drew to their support the sturdy men essential to maintain an exposed position against adverse judgments, even

44. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. 7, pp. 921-6.

45. Doc. Hist., vol. 4, pp. 616-7 (8vo, p. 102-4).

46. H. Hall, Early Hist. Vt., pp. 488-495.

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to the force of arms, especially Ethan and Ira Allen, Thomas Chittenden, Seth Warner, and Dr. Jonas Fay. The issue was between the New England conception of civil liberty, with small free landholders, and the English system of royal landholders, non-residents, entailing tenantry. Ira Allen was the statesman and diplomat of the five. Of him Thomas Chittenden, the first Governor, said, "There would have been no Vermont, if there had been no Ira Allen." Dr. Fay was the author of the Declaration of Independence of Vermont; Ethan Allen, the organizer and military leader.

The Documentary History of New York in 1771 contains a list of 129 New Hampshire grants under patents from Gov. Benning Wentworth.⁴⁷ On June 6, 1771, the Board of Trade writes to the Lords of the Privy Council, or advisers of the king, on land claims. 1. Persons possessing lands under grants legally and properly obtained from the government of New York antecedent to any pretence set up by the government of New Hampshire to grant lands west of the Connecticut river; only two or three grants of this class existed. 2. Persons who, in consequence of grants from the Governor of New Hampshire have made actual settlement and improvement . . . in cases where possession does not interfere with the rights of others . . . ought to be left in entire possession of such lands as they have actually cultivated and improved . . . subject to no other condition than what is contained in the grants under which they claim. 3. The claim of reduced officers and soldiers obtaining warrants from the Governor of New York, provided they do not claim lands bona fide settled under grants from New Hampshire.⁴⁸

Gov. Tryon of New York writes to Justices Skeene, Munro, etc., 24 August, 1771, concerning a riot and the dispossession of Donald McIntire and others from lands granted by this government. Gov. John Wentworth procured the drawing of a map of New Hampshire; and Judge Wells on Sept. 18, 1771, says the survey had gone to England.

In his proclamation of Dec. 11, 1771, Gov. Tryon, reiterating the right of New York to the territory in dispute, gives a resume of the

47. Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 4, pp. 430-1.

48. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. 8, p. 272.

history of the dispute from 1749, in which he charges that notwithstanding Gov. Wentworth had consented to exchange "representations" with New York, he stated and transmitted the claim of New Hampshire 23 March, 1750-1, without previously communicating a copy thereof to this government; the first intimation of which transaction was had from their own agent in Great Britain; and the Representation containing a statement of the claims of New York was forwarded to the proper office about the close of the year 1751; and encroachment having been made by inhabitants of New Hampshire on the lands and possessions of his Majesty's subjects of New York, this government on 28 July, 1753, issued a proclamation for apprehending all persons who should thereafter under color of title from New Hampshire take possession of lands granted by this province. The Incursions of the Indians obstructing all new settlements, the matter rested until his Majesty's order of 20 July, 1764, declaring the west banks of the Connecticut from where it enters the province of Massachusetts Bay to 45 degrees north latitude the boundary between New York and New Hampshire. By this act, Gov. Tryon put himself clearly on record as adopting the quarrel; and the deputies of Bennington and adjacent towns sent J. Hawley and James Breakenridge in October, 1772, as their agents, to London to petition for a confirmation of their claims under grants of New Hampshire; Hawley from the New York jurisdiction, and Breakenridge from New Hampshire jurisdiction.⁴⁹

The Representation of the Board of Trade to the Lords of the Privy Council, censures the conduct of the Governor of New York; as, contrary to the letter of the 49th article of his instructions, he had passed patents of confirmation of several townships granted by the Governor of New Hampshire; and adds:

All grants made by the government of New York of any lands originally settled under grants from the government of Massachusetts Bay, which fell within this district (New Hampshire Grants before 1741) are in every light in which they can be viewed, oppressive and unjust, but however unwarrantable, cannot be set aside, by any authority from his Majesty. It is expedient that the original proprietors should, on quitting them, receive a grant free of expense of

49. Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 4, p. 456.

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an equal number of acres in some other part of the district between the Hudson and the Connecticut river; and for every three acres improved, fifty acres of waste land. Grants made by New York previously to the establishment of townships laid out by the Governor of New Hampshire, on which any actual improvement has been made, should be undisturbed. Extortion by servants of the Crown in New York, taking greater fees upon grants of land than what was established by the ordinance of the Governor (Hunter) and Council of (Oct. 19) 1710, is unwarrantable and unjust. By that ordinance, the fees allowed to be taken upon grants of land, by the Governor, Secretary and Surveyor, were larger than what are at this day received for the same service in any other of the colonies. . . . Of later times, the Governor, Secretary and Surveyor have taken, and do now exact considerably more than double what that ordinance allows and a number of other officers do, upon various pretences, take fees upon all grants of land in so much that the whole amount of these fees upon a grant of 1000 acres of land is, in many instances, not far short of the real value of the fee simple; and we think we are justified in supposing that it has been from a consideration of the advantage arising from these exorbitant fees that His Majesty's Governors of New York have of late years taken upon themselves the most unwarrantable pretences to elude the restrictions contained in his Majesty's instructions with regard to the quantity of land to be granted any one person, and to contrive by insertion in one grant, of a number of names utterly fictitious, or which, if real, are only lent for the purpose to convey to one person in one grant from twenty to forty thousand acres of land; an abuse which is now grown to that height as well to deserve your Lordships' attention. Whitehall, Dec. 3, 1772."⁵⁰

This charge of abuse of the granting power by "unwarrantable pretences" is fully substantiated by such cases as the grant of Socialborough, April 3, 1771, and of Durham, Jan. 7, 1772, already cited with the military grants, which throw light on the "graft" in fees. Durham was number 7 of 35 townships of 36 square miles each, formed from the obsolete J. H. Lydius purchase of 60 by 20 miles, from the Mohawk Indians in 1732, and is now Clarendon. New York had allowed its confirmation by Gov. Shirley of Massachusetts in 1744, and by New Hampshire, Sept. 5, 1761, and 4 square miles of it was further involved under the Socialborough grant by New York,

50. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. 8, pp. 333-336.

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which included also Rutland and Pittsford sites. Both grants were storm centres in the controversy between the partisans of New York and the Green Mountain Boys. Spencer and the "Durhamites" against about 100 "Boys" under Ethan Allen clashed in 1773; the latter ordered Spencer to purchase a right under a New Hampshire title, which would be granted at a reasonable rate, and they would defend him against extortion. Benjamin Hough of Socialborough, by his fierce petition to the New York Assembly caused a reward of £100 each for the arrest of Ethan Allen and Remember Baker, and £50 each for the arrest of Seth Warner, James Breakenridge, Robert Cochran, Peleg Sunderland, John Smith, or Silvanus Brown, and the passing of the New York law of March 9, 1774, which placed before the "Boys" the alternative of victory or death, as follows:

Whereas a Spirit of Riot and Licentiousness has of late prevailed in some parts of the counties of Charlotte and Albany, and many Acts of Outrage and Cruelty have been perpetrated by a number of turbulent Men, who, assembling from Time to Time in Arms have seized insulted and menaced several Magistrates and other Civil Officers, so that they dare not execute their respective Functions. . . . Be it enacted . . . That if any Persons to the number of three or more being unlawfully, riotously and tumultuously assembled within either of the said Counties to the Disturbance of the Public Peace at any time after the passing of this Act, and being required or commanded by any one or more Justice or Justices of the Peace, or by the High Sheriff, or his Under Sheriff, or by any one of the Coroners of the County where such Assembly shall be,—by Proclamation to be made in the King's Name, in the Form hereinafter directed to disperse themselves . . . shall . . . notwithstanding such Proclamation made, unlawfully riotously and tumultuously remain and continue together . . . that then every Person or Persons so continuing together . . . shall for every such Offence upon Conviction thereof in due form of Law . . . suffer 12 Months Imprisonment without Bail or Mainprize, and such further Corporal Punishment as the respective Courts before which he, she or they shall be convicted, shall judge fit, not extending to Life and Limb, and before his, her or their Discharge shall enter into Recognizance with two sufficient Securities in such Sums as said Courts shall respectively direct to be of Good Behaviour, and to keep the Peace towards his Majesty and all his subjects for the term of three Years from such his her or their Discharge out of Prison. . . . And be it

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further enacted. . . . That if any Person or Persons do or shall with Force and Arms wilfully and knowingly oppose obstruct or in any Manner wilfully and knowingly let, hinder or hurt any Person or Persons who shall begin to proclaim, or go to proclaim according to the Proclamation hereby directed to be made whereby such Proclamation shall not be made; that then every such opposing, letting hindering or hurting such Person or Persons so beginning or going to make such Proclamation as aforesaid shall be adjudged Felony without benefit of Clergy; and that the Offenders therein shall be adjudged Felons and shall suffer Death as in Cases of Felony without benefit of Clergy. . . . And whereas Complaint and Proofs have been made as well before his Excellency the Governor in Council as before the General Assembly. That Ethan Allen sometime of Saulsbury in the Colony of Connecticut, but late of Bennington in the County of Albany Yeoman, Seth Warner late of Bennington said County Yeoman, Remember Baker late of Arlington in said County Yeoman, Robert Cochran late of Rupert in the County of Charlotte Yeoman, Peleg Sunderland and Sylvanus Brown late of Socialborough in the same County Yeomen, James Brackenridge late of Walhumschack in the County of Albany Yeoman, and John Smith late of Socialborough in the County of Charlotte Yeoman, have been principal Ringleaders of, and Actors in the Riots and Disturbances aforesaid; and the General Assembly have thereupon addressed his Excellency the Governor to issue a Proclamation offering certain Rewards for apprehending and securing said Offenders. . . . Be it therefore enacted . . . That it shall be lawful to and for his Excellency the Governor . . . by and with the Advice of the Council as often as either of the abovenamed Persons shall be indicted . . . to make his order in Council requiring and commanding such Offender and Offenders to surrender themselves respectively within the Space of Seventy Days next after the first Publication thereof in the New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, to one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for either of the said Counties respectively, who are hereby required thereupon to commit him or them without Bail or Mainprize to the Gaol of the City of New York or of the City and County of Albany . . . which Order the Clerk of his Majesty's Council or his Deputy shall cause to be forthwith printed and published in Eight successive Papers of the New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury. . . . And in Case said Offenders shall not respectively surrender themselves . . . he or they so neglecting or refusing to surrender . . . shall from the Day to be appointed for his or their surrender as aforesaid be adjudged deemed and taken (if indicted for a Capital Offence here-

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after to be perpetrated) to be convicted and attainted of Felony, and shall suffer Death as in cases of Persons convicted and attainted of Felony by Verdict and Judgment without benefit of Clergy." (For aiding and abetting an offender the same penalty as for riot; and no immunity promised for surrender, to Allen and the others named.) The act to be in force till Jan. 1, 1776.⁵¹

At a general meeting of the committees for the townships in the New Hampshire Grants, April 14th, 1774, or a month after the passage of the above extreme and despotic act, it was resolved "that our inhabitants hold themselves in readiness, at a minute's warning to aid and defend such friends of ours, who, for their merit to the great and general cause, are falsely denominated rioters; but that we will not act anything more or less but on the defensive, and always encourage due execution of law in civil cases, and also in criminal prosecutions that are so indeed; and that we will assist to the utmost of our power, the officers appointed for that purpose." But though the policy of Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys was to overawe New York interference by a display of strength and numbers, and hitherto to avoid bloodshed; when proscribed as outlaws with a price on their heads, to be punished if they surrendered, and condemned without hearing or trial to die the death of felons, if they did not surrender, they were roused to declare on April 16, 1774, "We will kill and destroy any person or persons whomsoever that shall presume to be accessory, aiding, or assisting in taking any of us."⁵²

But events of national importance to all the thirteen American colonies soon overshadowed and halted provincial quarrels. The Continental Congress meeting Sept. 5, 1774, was followed by the suspension of British authority in nearly all these colonies except New York, where the first interruption of the courts occurred March 14, 1775, known as the "Westminster Massacre."⁵³ The Provincial Council of New York, in the face of the royal veto, had on March 19, 1768, affixed the "Great Seal" of the Province to an act of the Assembly passed on the 18th, re-establishing the county of Cumber-

51. Colonial Laws of N. Y., vol. 5, pp. 647-655.

52. H. Hall, *Early Hist.*, Vt. pp. 180-183.

53. *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. 4, pp. 545-550.

land, with Chester as its shire town. The anti-court party, led by Col. Nathan Stone of Windsor, defied the authority of this court, and rescued Joseph Waite from the high sheriff, Daniel Whipple, whom with his posse they held prisoners for seven hours; and on June 5, 1770, the day appointed by law for holding the regular term of the "Inferior Court of Common Pleas," prevented the sitting, which was to be held in a dwelling house, there being no court house, and only an apology for a jail. Though the rest of the community prevented further interference with the Court, a movement arose for placing the courthouse elsewhere, several towns offering to build a courthouse if such town be declared the county seat. Judge Chandler of Chester thereupon, to hold down the site, built a court house 30 by 16 feet, at his own expense, and leased it to the county for ten years, in 1771, but probably only two terms of court were held there, when Judge Wells and four other opponents of the Chester site urged Westminster as the county seat, and the bill passed March 24, 1772. Record exists of a court at Chester June 2, 1772, adjourned to the meeting-house in Westminster, and assembled there June 9, 1772. In 1773 a courthouse about forty feet square was completed at Westminster, built of hewn logs, and clapboarded.⁵⁴ When the agitation in 1774 concerning independence of Great Britain was under way, Isaac Low of New York investigated the sentiments of the people of the "Grants" toward Great Britain, and the towns in Cumberland county were invited to send delegates to a convention at Westminster, Oct. 19, 1774. The Convention, while professing loyalty to the king, resolved to defend their just rights as British subjects, and viewed the Acts of Parliament blocking up Boston harbor as unjust and arbitrary. A second convention assembled Nov. 30, and the delegates promised to adhere to all resolves passed by the Continental Congress.⁵⁵

Judge Chandler, representing the authority of New York, was to hold court at Westminster March 13, 1775; but the settlers, unarmed, proposed by peaceable means to prevent it; but were fired upon by the sheriff's posse, and William French was mortally wounded,

54. B. H. Hall, *Hist. Eastern Vt.*, vol. 1, pp. 159-186, and Hemenway, *Vt. Historical Gazetteer*, vol. 5, pp. 1-9.

55. B. H. Hall, *Hist. of Eastern Vt.*, vol. 1, pp. 198-9, 204.

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"the protomartyr to the cause of American liberty;" later, several others were wounded, Daniel Houghton mortally. This was the "Westminster Massacre." A Committee of Safety appointed by a large convention of the inhabitants of Cumberland county, met at Westminster April 11, 1775, and resolved that it is the "duty of the inhabitants to wholly renounce and resist the administration of the government of New York till such time as the lives and property of these inhabitants may be secured by it, or till such time as they can have opportunity to lay their grievances before his Majesty in Council, with a humble petition to be taken out of so oppressive a jurisdiction, and either annexed to some other government, or erected and incorporated into a new one. Col. Haseltine, Charles Phelps and Col. Ethan Allen were chosen a committee to prepare a remonstrance and petition to King George.⁵⁶ The battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775, determined the question for them, and no petition was presented.

Ethan Allen was soon found (May 10) at Ticonderoga, demanding its surrender from the British commander; New York fell into line for the common defence, and left for a time the "Grants" in open rebellion to her authority, though three delegates were elected to represent the county in the New York Assembly, and on June 21, 1775, took their seats there; but after the Declaration of American independence, a committee of delegates from 25 towns, on Jan. 15, 1777, having found more than three-fourths of the people of Cumberland county favorable to an independent state government adopted the declaration "That the district of territory comprehending and usually known by the name and description of the New Hampshire Grants, of right ought to be, and is hereby declared forever hereafter to be considered as a free and independent jurisdiction or State by the name and forever hereafter to be called, known, and distinguished by the name of New Connecticut, (alias Vermont)."⁵⁷ Tryon left his governorship to become an officer in the British army, 1777; to destroy Danbury, Fairfield and Norwalk, Connecticut, 1779.

A declaration of loyalty to the United States had already been

56. H. Hall, *Early Hist. Vt.*, pp. 191-5. B. H. Hall, vol. 1, pp. 217-241.

57. H. Hall, *Early Hist. Vt.*, pp. 238-9; B. H. Hall, vol. 1, pp. 247, 283.

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made by a convention July 24, 1776; "We the subscribers, inhabitants of that district of land commonly called and known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants, do voluntarily and solemnly engage, under all the ties held sacred amongst mankind, at the risque of our lives and fortunes to defend by arms the United American States against the hostile attempts of the British fleets and armies, until the present unhappy controversy between the two countries shall be settled."⁵⁸ By the "irony of fate" Col. Warner and his regiment were engaged mainly in the defence of New York. The pointedness of this "irony" is seen from the fact that New York, almost directly after her signers had affixed their signatures to the Declaration of Independence, in the State Convention of Aug. 2, 1776, voted that all quitrents formerly due to the king of Great Britain, are now due and owing to this Convention, or such future government as shall hereafter be established in this State"; thereby squarely assuming the sole responsibility for any acts committed in prosecuting the New York side of the "grants" controversy, and eliminating Great Britain from that controversy. For Vermont to submit to New York now was to put all the "grants" into her hands, and subject to her sole decision. To contest with New York, might range Vermont against Congress also, for New York was within the United States confederation, and Vermont was outside. Vermont sentiment tended toward a total separation from New York, and the independence of Vermont. New Hampshire was willing to admit it; Massachusetts and Connecticut rather approved than condemned; but New York considered it dangerous rebellion; and the President of the New York Convention Jan. 20, 1777, reported to Congress "a part of this State hath been prevailed on to revolt and disavow the authority of its legislature"; and by letter criticizes Congress for granting a commission to Col. Warner, "an outlaw," and claims it "absolutely necessary to recall the commission to Warner and the officers under him."⁵⁹ The Committee of the Whole, considering a printed letter of Thomas Young of Philadelphia, laid before it by a delegate of New York, and addressed to the inhabitants of Vermont

58. B. H. Hall, *Hist. E. Vt.*, vol. 1, p. 268, note.

59. *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. 4, pp. 557-559.

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“Resolved, that the independence attempted to be established by the people styling themselves inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants, can derive no countenance or justification from the act of Congress declaring the United Colonies independent of Great Britain, nor from any other act or resolution of Congress!” “Resolved that the petition of Jonas Fay, Thomas Chittenden, Heman Allen, and Reuben Jones, in the name and on behalf of the people styling themselves as aforesaid, praying that their declaration that they would consider themselves an independent State, may be received; that the district in said petition described may be numbered among free and independent States, and delegates thereof may be admitted to seats in Congress—be dismissed. Resolved that Congress, by raising and officering the regiment commanded by Col. Warner, never “meant to give any encouragement to the claim of the people aforesaid to be considered an independent State; and that the contents of said paragraphs (in the letter of Thomas Young) are derogatory to the honor of Congress.”⁶⁰

From these resolutions, the people of Vermont concluded that the resolutions were drawn up under the influence of New York; but that only confirmed their resolution. In June, Burgoyne with 8000 British and Indians started from Canada for the American fort at Crown Point; that being taken, the American troops at Ticonderoga had to abandon that fort July 6, 1777; then were approaching directly upon the “Grants” by way of Fort Edward. As New Hampshire had gone farther than any other State toward acknowledging the independence of Vermont, her Committee of Safety wrote in pressing terms to the Exeter, N. H., Committee of Safety, for assistance. The New Hampshire Assembly was immediately called together, and a large body of State militia under Gen. Stark was ordered to Charlestown, N. H., ready “to act with the troops of the new State or any other of the States; danger from the British was removed, Burgoyne captured 14 towns; and Weare, President of New Hampshire, notified Ira Allen, Secretary of State of Vermont, addressing Vermont as a free and independent State. The idea was not only popular in New Hampshire, but 16

60. Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 4, pp. 562-3, 569.

of her towns, and on the west several New York towns, wanted to join the new State; this ranged both against the forming of a new State.⁶¹ Feb. 12, 1779, Vermont voted to dissolve the proposed union with the 16 towns; New York proposed armed resistance to annexation of New York towns; Ethan Allen in July attempted conciliation, in vain, and then proposed that their claims and that of Massachusetts in case of the breaking up of the State, with the claim of Vermont, be heard and determined by Congress.⁶² "The Governor and Council of Vermont after months in this critical condition, on Dec. 10, 1779, published an appeal to the world, stating that the State existed independent of any of the thirteen States, and was not accountable to them for her liberty; that they were and ever had been ready to bear their proportion of the burden and of the war with Great Britain; but not so lost to sense and honor that after they had expended so much blood and treasure they should now give up everything worth fighting for, the right of making their own laws and choosing their own form of government, to the arbitrament of any man or body of men under heaven."

Congress granted that when the rights and independence of Vermont were debated, her representatives might be present; and she was notified Sept. 19, 1780, when New Hampshire and New York presented their claims. Ira Allen and Stephen R. Bradley were present as the representatives of Vermont; and presented a remonstrance Sept. 22, against suppressing the voice of Vermont in the proceedings. In 1781, finding the towns of western New Hampshire and eastern New York still ready to join their government, Vermont entered on the policy taught her by her neighbors,—of making claims, namely, to these districts; with such success that 35 New Hampshire towns were represented in the Vermont Assembly in April, 1781, and on the 16th of June, 10 districts in New York adjacent. The British in Canada, seeing Vermont isolated, through Col. Beverly Robinson, by letter to Ethan Allan, March 30, 1780, offered inducements to Vermont to become a British province; the first letter being unanswered, a second was sent Feb. 2, 1781, and Allen on March

61. N. H. Provincial & State Papers, vol. X, pp. 253-5.

62. N. H. Prov'l & State Papers, vol. X, pp. 272-377.

9, enclosed both letters in a letter to Congress, claiming the right of Vermont to agree on cessation of hostilities with Great Britain, provided the United States persists in rejecting her appeal for union with them; the people of Vermont being exposed to the whole force of Canada, 7000 strong, while they had neither magazines, money, or army, and had to provide for their own safety, considering themselves designedly forsaken by the other colonies, to force them to submit to New York.⁶³ Congress was persuaded that the only way to secure Vermont was to admit her into the Union; hence on Aug. 7, 1781, accepted the offer of New York and New Hampshire previously made, submitting to the decision of Congress, and appointed a committee of five to confer with persons appointed by the people of the "Grants," on what terms it is proper to admit them into the Union. On Aug. 18, an agreement was made to recognize Vermont's independence, provided she relinquish all demands for lands and jurisdiction east of the west bank of Connecticut river, and on the west side of a line beginning at the northwest corner of Massachusetts, thence running 20 miles east of the Hudson thence by the west bounds of the townships granted by the late Governor of New Hampshire to the river running from South bay, to Lake Champlain and along the waters of Lake Champlain to 45 degrees north latitude, except a neck of land between Missisquoi bay and Lake Champlain.⁶⁴ New York protested on the 15th and 17th Nov., but the Vermont Assembly accepted on Feb. 22, 1782, the boundary sanctioned by Congress. Though minor difficulties resulted from the great dilatoriness of Congress in acting on the admission of Vermont, and causes of irritation between New York and Vermont,—the losing of the seat of government by New York city to Philadelphia for lack of a small number of votes, induced New York to seek the friendship and vote of Vermont; and she appointed commissioners July 15, 1789, who treated with others appointed by Vermont Oct. 23, 1789. After two or three meetings they came to an agreement on boundary lines and compensation for New York claims within them, and on Oct. 7, 1790, the New York Commissioners declared the consent of New York

63. H. Hall, *Early Hist. Vt.*, pp. 337-345, 359-377.

64. H. Hall, *Early Hist. Vt.*, pp. 346-355.

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Assembly, that Vermont be admitted into the Union, and all claims of New York to cease, provided that for the lands granted by New York, that on or before June 1, 1794, said State of Vermont would pay to the State of New York \$30,000, and that grants from New York in Vermont should cease, and rights and titles under New York grants except those made in confirmation of the grants by New Hampshire.⁶⁵ Vermont legislature passed an act Oct. 28, 1790, directing Vermont to pay the \$30,000. Thus ended the bitter controversy of 26 years. Vermont was admitted to the United States by act of Feb. 18, 1791, in effect March 4, 1791. New York had granted from 1765 to 1776 through her Governors 2,115,616 acres, for which they had received \$66,112.74 in fees. The fees to the Surveyor-General, Secretary, Clerk of Council, Attorney-General, and Auditor-General brought the amount up to \$190,933.73, all except 180,620 acres by Moore, granted in direct disobedience to the king's order of 1767, under a system denounced by high British officials and upheld by acts disapproved by large numbers of the people of New York.

65. H. Hall, *Early Hist. Vt.*, pp. 444-449, and B. H. Hall, *Hist. Eastern Vt.*, vol. 2, pp. 558-565.



Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

NO. X

HALIFAX AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

"'And I abide by my Mother's House,'
Said our Lady of the Snows."

—KIPLING.



At the outbreak of the Revolution Nova Scotia stood in no essentially different relation to Great Britain and her rule of her American colonies from that borne by the thirteen colonies that afterward became the first States of the Union. She was simply the most easterly of the British American colonies on the Atlantic seaboard, of which Pennsylvania extended farthest west and Georgia farthest south, her English settlement having been later than that of the others, but her constitution and government not differing in any essential particular from theirs, and her intercourse with them all, especially the New England colonies, being very friendly and close.¹ The population of this extreme eastern province, moreover, which numbered between fifteen and twenty thousand, had been drawn in great part from New England, between 1749 and 1762, and never since the people emigrated, except perhaps in the depth of the winters, had commercial and social intercourse between them and the inhabitants of the towns from which they had come for a single month been intermitted. At the beginning of the revolutionary struggle, therefore, it was not by any means a foregone conclusion that Nova Scotia would not range

1. See on this point, "Nova Scotia during the Revolution," an article in the *American Historical Review*, X, pp. 52-71, by Emily P. Weaver. "Writers dealing with the period," says Miss Weaver, "frequently assume that Nova Scotia was from the first in a class altogether distinct from that of the revolting colonies and therefore do not think her exceptional course worthy of remark. One of such writers is Green in his *History of the English People*."

herself on the side of the revolting colonies, and in process of time come to share whatever fortune the general protest of these colonies against the abuses of the government in England might bring them.

The extent of territory embraced by Nova Scotia, which at that time, as always until then, had embraced the present province of New Brunswick, and which also included the recently attached island of Cape Breton,² was a little greater than that of the province of New York, and was well up in the scale of square mileage to the province of Georgia, and her well known fertility and the great wealth of her forests and fisheries, in spite of her comparatively scanty population, made her an object of no little consideration in the eyes of the revolutionary leaders. The importance, moreover, of the capital of the province as a strategic military and naval base on the extreme eastern part of the continent was by no means overlooked. To draw this maritime province into the Revolution, therefore, was an issue that the revolutionists strongly desired to effect.

In July, 1775, Benjamin Franklin prepared a sketch of a plan for permanent union of the American colonies, which while allowing to each the continuance of the virtual independence it enjoyed, proposed for each adequate representation in an annual Congress, which should deal with all measures of resistance to injustice and oppression from any source. Besides the thirteen colonies that subsequently became the first States of the Union, Canada, Nova Scotia, and Florida were included in his plan, while Ireland, the West Indies and Bermuda also were to be invited to join. The plan, another of whose details was the creation of a certain number of "lords" for each colony, Nova Scotia to have one, was submitted to the Continental Congress, but was not acted upon.³

The first action of Congress relative to Nova Scotia, after the Revolution began, was a formal resolve of that body on the 10th of November, 1775, to send two persons secretly to the province to learn the disposition of the people towards the American cause, to inquire into the condition of the fortifications, wherever there were any, and

2. Cape Breton was annexed to Nova Scotia by royal proclamation on the 7th of October, 1763. In 1784 it was separated from Nova Scotia, and Sydney was made the capital. In 1820, it was again united to Nova Scotia, as it now is.

3. See Albert Henry Smyth's "Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. 10, p. 291.

of the dockyards at Halifax and probably Fort Cumberland, and to discover the quantity of artillery and warlike stores the province had, with also the number of war-ships and other ships lying in the harbours, as also, of course, the numerical strength of the land and sea forces. This resolve was evidently at once communicated to General Washington, at Cambridge, for nine days later Washington wrote the president of the Congress that as soon as two "capable persons" could be found he would dispatch them to Nova Scotia "on the service resolved on in Congress." On the 28th of the same month he again wrote the president: "There are two persons engaged to go to Nova Scotia on the business recommended in your last. By the best information we have from thence, the stores, etc., have been withdrawn some time. Should this not be the case it is next to an impossibility to attempt anything there in the present unsettled and precarious state of the army." On the 30th of January, 1776, he wrote again from Cambridge, that even if the persons sent for information to Nova Scotia should report favourably on troops being sent there, he had no troops that he could send. It would be quite inadvisable, he thought, to raise troops "in the eastern parts of this government."

On the 16th of February, 1776, it was resolved in Congress that this body "submit the expediency and practicability of an expedition to Nova Scotia to General Washington, and would by no means accept the plan proposed by Thompson and Obrian so far as relates to Tory property nor the destruction of the town of Halifax." On the 27th of March, 1776, General Washington wrote Congress that Colonel Eddy had brought him a petition from Nova Scotia which stated that the people of that province were afraid they would have to take up arms unless they were protected. The Nova Scotians think, Washington says, that it would be better if five or six hundred troops could be sent them, the presence of whom would quiet the people's fears, and would also prevent the Indians taking sides with the government. He is uncertain what had better be done, "for if the army is going to Halifax, as reported by them [Col. Eddy and whoever were his colleagues in presenting the appeal] before they left, such a force, or much more, would not avail." On the 8th of

July, 1776, Congress resolved "that General Washington have permission to call forth and engage in the service of Nova Scotia so many Indians of the St. John's, Nova Scotia, and Penobscot tribes as he shall judge necessary, and that he be desired to write to the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay requesting their aid in this business and informing them that Congress will reimburse such expenses as may be necessarily incurred in consequence of the foregoing resolutions."

On the 30th of December, 1776, and the 7th of January, 1777, further resolutions were passed by Congress showing that the reduction of Nova Scotia was still under consideration, and on the 8th of January, 1777, a resolution was passed that the Council of the State of Massachusetts be desired "to attend to the situation of the enemy" in Nova Scotia, and if this body thought that an attack on Fort Cumberland could advantageously be made in that winter or the following spring, "whereby the dockyard and other works, together with such stores as could not easily be removed," should be destroyed, its members were empowered to raise a body of not more than three thousand men, under such officers as they should appoint, to carry on the said expedition and to provide military stores and convey them to such of the eastern parts of the state as they should think best. On the 29th of April, 1777, at a board of war, it was resolved that if fifteen complete battalions should be furnished by New Hampshire and Massachusetts, three of these might be employed in Nova Scotia in such ways as should be thought most conducive to the general advantage, either for offensive operations or to give protection to the friends of the United States in this province.

What seems to have been the last important resolve of Congress in reference to an invasion of Nova Scotia was made on the 21st of May, 1778, and in negation of such a design. On that date Congress accepted the report of a committee to whom the matter of such invasion had been referred, to the effect "that the wresting of Nova Scotia from the British power and uniting the same to these states is for many weighty reasons a very desirable object, but that the propriety of making this attempt at the present crisis seems doubtful; and upon the whole it appears wise to wait a while, until the event of a war taking place between France and Great Britain, and

the consequences that may have upon the British force on this continent, shall render an attempt upon Nova Scotia more likely to succeed." If, however, any urgent occasion for immediate action should arise, the council of Massachusetts was empowered to furnish the people of Nova Scotia who were loyal to the United States with a force not to exceed two regiments, to assist in reducing the province.

The exact number of English speaking people in Nova Scotia, including the present New Brunswick and the island of Cape Breton, in 1775, we are not able to give, but it was probably, as we have stated, somewhat under twenty thousand, and of these inhabitants not far from three-quarters, it is estimated, were people who or whose parents had been born in Massachusetts, Connecticut, or Rhode Island, and who naturally shared the spirit of liberty which so generally animated the people who still remained in the New England colonies from which they had come. In a recently published monograph on that extraordinary man Alexander McNutt, who, with vision and energy but apparently without sufficient business integrity or judgment for carrying such an enterprise successfully through, tried between 1759 and 1765 to colonize Nova Scotia with North of Ireland people, we have shown that McNutt repeatedly appealed to Congress to take active measures to capture the province for the Revolution.⁴ When the Revolution broke out he was living in retirement on an island in Shelburne harbour on the southern shore of Nova Scotia, having long before ceased his efforts for colonization, and his antagonism towards the Nova Scotia authorities, and doubtless towards British rule at large, impelled him to use his utmost energies in trying to induce Congress to take forcible

4. Our monograph on Alexander McNutt (*Americana* magazine, December, 1913) shows that in January and March, 1779, respectively, McNutt appealed to the Congress to assist the Nova Scotians to revolt. His appeals were referred to a committee, which reported in April, 1779. The report proposed that in order to deliver Nova Scotia from "British despotism" a road should be opened from Penobscot to the St. John river, and that to prosecute the work a body of men not exceeding fifteen hundred should be engaged, and the sum of fifteen thousand dollars should be advanced. What debate there may have been on this report we do not know, but the recommendations of the committee were not acted on. On the 29th of February, 1779, Benjamin Franklin writes Comte de Vergennes: "While the English continue to possess the ports of Halifax, Rhode Island, and New York, they can refit their ships of war in those seas, defend more easily their fisheries, and interrupt more effectually by their cruisers the commerce between France and America." *Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. 7, p. 235.

measures to wrest Nova Scotia from the authority of the Crown. In his appeals, moreover, McNutt claimed to be acting not by any means without authorization from the people of Nova Scotia itself, but rather as the appointed agent of a large body of intelligent Nova Scotians who were thoroughly disaffected towards the British Government. That McNutt, as he moved about Nova Scotia, with the island in Shelburne harbour as his base, using his influence to embitter the people among whom he went against English rule, found in several parts of the province very widespread sympathy with the Revolution is now a perfectly well recognized fact. "A very large proportion of the immigrants from the Atlantic States," writes a well known Nova Scotian, "were open and avowed sympathizers with the war against the mother country. From Cumberland to Onslow, and from Falmouth to Yarmouth they formed an overwhelming majority."⁵

When the Assembly met at Halifax in June, 1770, the Governor, Lord William Campbell, reported to the Home Authorities that he did not discover in Nova Scotia "any of that licentious principle with which the neighbouring colonies are so highly infected." Campbell's immediate predecessor, Governor Wilmot, who died in 1766, had made virtually the same report; some time in his administration he had written that "the sentiments of a decent and dutiful acquiescence" prevailed among the people under his jurisdiction. Yet as early as July 24, 1762, the inhabitants of Liverpool had strongly protested against any interference by the governor with what they claimed as their rights, saying that they were born in a country of liberty, and were not to be autocratically ruled. By this spirit it is evident the people of the province generally were controlled, and in the earlier stages of the Revolution it manifested itself in almost every place where New England or North of Ireland people in considerable numbers had settled.

Probably the earliest active expression of such spirit was in the remote colony on Moose Island, in Passamaquoddy Bay, where the town of Eastport (Maine) now stands. This island, the final ownership of which as of other territory about Passamaquoddy Bay

5. This statement is made by Mr. W. C. Milner, agent for the Dominion Archives in Nova Scotia, in his "Records of Chignecto," p. 46.

and the river St. Croix, which flows into it, was not settled until long after the Revolution, was at that time popularly regarded as within the jurisdiction of Nova Scotia, and the settlers there, some ten families at least, were probably all from New England, though two or three of them were clearly of North of Ireland stock.⁶ In the Journals of the Continental Congress we find under date of November 2, 1775, that "the inhabitants of Passamaquoddy, in Nova Scotia, having chosen a Committee of Safety, and having by their petition applied to the Congress to be admitted into the Association of the North Americans for the promotion of their rights and liberties," it was resolved that a committee of five should be appointed to take the matter into consideration and report what steps it would be best to take in consideration of the appeal.

On the 14th of May, 1776, a large proportion of the heads of families settled at Maugerville, on the St. John river, all we believe from Massachusetts, assembled in the meeting-house there and voted the strongest resolutions of sympathy with New England, appointing a committee to go to the Massachusetts General Court and beg for its protection and help. "It is our minds and desire," say the men, "to submit ourselves to the government of Massachusetts Bay, and we are ready with our lives and fortunes to share with them the event of the present struggle for liberty, however God in his providence may order it." To the Massachusetts legislature, accordingly, the committee went, and on the General Court records of the Bay State we find the terms of their petition clearly stated. The committee express deep sorrow at the general calamity brought on America by a ruinous and destructive civil war, and complain bitterly of the impositions they and the people they represent have

6. "The New England period in Passamaquoddy history began about 1763. From 1760 there had been a general movement from the older provinces to Nova Scotia, and many thousands from New England settled in the peninsula, while a few hundreds came to what is now New Brunswick. In 1763 various settlers began to locate about Passamaquoddy." *New Brunswick Historical Society's Collections*, Vol. I, p. 211. Men named Bowen, Boynton, Clark, Cochran, Crow, Ricker, Shackford, and Tuttle, are said to have received grants of land on Moose Island, which was probably the first considerable settlement in the Passamaquoddy region, between 1772 and 1774, and it seems likely that in summer at least many others resorted to the island for fishing. See Lorenzo Sabine's, "Moose Island," in W. H. Kilby's "Eastport and Passamaquoddy," p. 141, and appendix A. of this book, pp. 490, 491.

7. Archdeacon Raymond's "St. John River," etc., p. 434.

suffered from oppressive acts of his Majesty's Government. The governor of Nova Scotia, they say, "having thought proper effectually to prevent their being supplied with arms and ammunition by ordering a large penalty on any of those articles being shipped into the province, at the same time requiring them to assemble in military array and by force of arms repel all invaders, martial law proclaimed throughout the province and civil authority made subordinate, exorbitant taxes required of them to support the war against the United Colonies,—under these circumstances they find it impracticable for them to continue as neutrals and to subsist without commerce, and they therefore now openly declare that they could never see any shadow of justice in that extensive claim of the British Parliament of the right of enacting laws binding the colonies in all cases whatever, that as tyranny ought to be resisted in its first appearance they are convinced that the united provinces are just in their proceedings in this regard."

To both houses of the Massachusetts legislature this appeal was presented and in the minutes of the General Court we find recorded, that the St. John river people, "after mature consideration have thought fit to submit themselves to this Government and desire its protection and promise to adopt such measures as this Government shall propose for their future conduct and are ready with their lives and fortunes to share with this colony the event of the present struggle for liberty; they therefore humbly ask protection as a defenceless people, and that the Honourable Court will grant such relief and assistance as is proper, hoping that the Honourable Court will not tamely see them butchered or plundered for showing themselves friendly to the cause of America."⁸

Beginning in the autumn of 1776, various men of Massachusetts birth who had settled in Yarmouth and Barrington, in the peninsula

8. This petition, as we have said, was presented to both houses, and it was ordered that the commissary-general should give the agents of the St. John river people (Asa Perley and Asa Kimball) one barrel of gunpowder, three hundred and fifty flints, and two hundred and fifty weight of lead from the colony stores, and that the agents should have liberty to purchase in Massachusetts forty stand of small arms for the use of their constituents. The committees of correspondence and safety, also in any of the seaports of Massachusetts, were directed to grant permits to them to transport the same or any other goods from port to port within the colony. *Records of the General Court of Massachusetts*, vol. 35, pp. 65, 66, 85.

of Nova Scotia, appealed to the Massachusetts General Court for permission to return with their families and effects to their native province, to escape the hardships they were suffering from the interruption of friendly relations between Nova Scotia and the Bay State. "We look on ourselves," some of these petitioners say, as being "as unhappily situated as any people in the world; being settlers from the Massachusetts Bay, for whose welfare we earnestly pray, having fathers, brothers, and children living there." Throughout the struggle then going on, they continue, they have remained loyal to the cause of liberty, and have done everything in their power to assist men still living in Massachusetts who have happened to visit them to get back in safety to their New England homes. Of the distress to which they have been brought by the interruption of trade between Nova Scotia and Massachusetts, and the consequent lack of markets for their fish, they give a melancholy account, and they pray that provisions shall be sent them for the ensuing winter and until such time as they can remove from Nova Scotia to their former homes, "unless these tremendous times are stinted, which God grant may be soon."⁹

In Cumberland County, near the Chignecto Isthmus, and in what is now Colchester County, the inhabitants of two townships of which, Truro and Londonderry wholly, and the third, Onslow, in part, were people of North of Ireland stock, sympathy with New England and antagonism to the actions of the Nova Scotia Government were very strong. An oath of allegiance which the Government attempted to enforce on all adult males in Truro and Onslow in 1777 was stoutly refused by all except five to whom it was offered. In King's County, also, whose inhabitants had almost all come from the towns of east-

9. "In the [Massachusetts] House of Representatives, Nov. 15, 1776, whereas it appears to this Court that the within petitioners, inhabitants of Barrington in Nova Scotia, have proved themselves firm friends to the United States of America, and on that account are determined as soon as may be to transport themselves and their families from that province to this state in order to get out of the reach of British tyranny; And it being represented that the inhabitants of Barrington, from a determined refusal of trade with the enemies of America have exposed themselves to great hardships through want of such provisions as are necessary to support them until they can be removed; therefore Resolved that the prayer of the within petition be so far granted as that the within named Heman Kenney, be and he thereby is permitted to purchase and export from any town or place in this state to said Barrington, solely for the purpose of enabling the said inhabitants thereof to transport themselves from thence to this state, 250 bushels of corn, 30 barrels of pork, 2 hogsheads of molasses, 2 do. of rum, 200 lbs. of coffee." "In Council Nov. 16, 1776, Read and Concurred."

ern Connecticut, according to tradition a liberty pole was cut and was about to be erected when a company of Orange Rangers from Halifax appeared on the scene and prevented the rebellious demonstration.¹⁰

In Cumberland the disaffection was almost as universal and bitter as in Manguerville, the "rebels" there numbering, it is said, about two hundred men, many of them heads of families and persons of the largest means and the highest consequence. In this county, near the isthmus which connects New Brunswick with Nova Scotia, was situated the most important fort in the Nova Scotian peninsula next to the much older one at Annapolis Royal,—the little fortification known when it was in French hands as Beauséjour, but after it was finally captured by New England troops in 1755 as Fort Cumberland. In August, 1775, it was reported at Halifax that the "New England rebels" had cleared a road from St. John river to Shepody to enable a force to march on this fort. In October, 1776, another report was made to the authorities that a force was being gathered on the frontier having the same purpose in view, and the truth of this report was soon to be established. One of the Cumberland settlers from Massachusetts, a native of the town of Norton, was a certain Jonathan Eddy, who had taken up his residence in Cumberland either in 1760 or a little later. With profound sympathy with the Revolution this man in August, 1776, had gone to the Massachusetts General Court with a petition, in which he was joined by William Howe and Zebulon Rowe, other Massachusetts men, neighbors of his in Cumberland, setting forth that "the enemy" were repairing the forts in Nova Scotia to the great disturbance of the inhabitants of Cumberland, their object clearly being "to keep the people in subjection to their tyrannical measures."¹¹ The greater part of the

10. We have mentioned this tradition in our "History of King's County, Nova Scotia," pp. 431, 432, but what authority it has we do not know.

11. See a "Memoir of Colonel Jonathan Eddy of Eddington, Maine," etc., by Joseph W. Porter, Augusta, Maine, 1877. Jonathan Eddy was a son of Eleazer Eddy and his wife Elizabeth (Cobb) of Norton, Mass., and was born in 1726. In 1755 he was an officer in Col. Winslow's regiment in Nova Scotia, in 1758 he raised a company for the reduction of Canada, in 1759 he raised a company for Colonel Joseph Frye's regiment, in which he served as captain from April 2, 1759, to December 31, 1759. He left active service in 1760, when he probably went at once to Cumberland, Nova Scotia. There he served as deputy provost marshal and in other offices. March 27, 1776, it is said, he came to General Washington's headquarters at Cambridge with his petition from Nova Scotia.

Nova Scotians, Eddy declares, were much concerned at the acts of their authorities, many being so troubled that they had already left their farms to be confiscated and had returned to the province of their birth. The only way that proper relief could come to the people on whose behalf he was petitioning, he says, would be by the General Court's granting them a small force with ammunition and provisions so that they could "destroy the enemy's forts." The response of the Massachusetts legislature to Eddy's appeal was a resolution that the commissary general be directed to deliver to him and his fellow petitioners two hundred pounds of gunpowder, five hundred weight of musket balls, three hundred gun flints, and twenty barrels of pork.¹² At the same time the court ordered that James Bowdoin, Walter Spooner, and Henry Gardner, Esq., with such others as the legislature should join with them, should be a committee "to make inquiry into the intention and dispositions of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia respecting the cause now in dispute between the United States and Great Britain, to consider the probability of effecting a revolution in that province, and of the way [of] and means for effecting the same."¹³

The "Eddy rebellion" in Cumberland is one of the most highly dramatic and best remembered events in the history of Nova Scotia. In his volume "The River St. John," Archdeacon Raymond describes the beginning of it as follows. "In July, 1776, Eddy set out from Boston and proceeded to Machias [Maine]. He left that place about the middle of August in a schooner with twenty-eight men as a nucleus of his proposed army. At Passamaquoddy a few people joined him. He did not meet with much encouragement at St. John, although Hazen, Simonds, and White refrained from any hostile demonstration.¹⁴ Proceeding up the river to Maugerville, Ed-

12. On September 4, 1776, it was resolved that whereas the General Court by a resolve on September 2d, had directed the commissary general to deliver to Jonathan Eddy, William Howe, and Zebulon Rowe ammunition and provisions, these men having represented that they wanted bread rather than pork, the commissary should be directed to deliver to them only ten barrels of pork and as much bread as would amount to the value of ten barrels of pork. Records of the General Court, Vol. 35, p. 200.

13. General Court Records, Vol. 35, pp. 194.

14. Messrs. Hazen, Simonds, and White were New England men and conspicuous traders at what is now St. John, New Brunswick. At the outbreak of the Revolution, says Dr. Raymond, their situation was very embarrassing, they would very likely most gladly "have assumed a neutral attitude in the approaching contest," but they held small

dy says, he found the people 'almost universally hearty in our cause; they joined us with one captain, one lieutenant, and twenty-five men, as also sixteen Indians.' . . . On his arrival at Cumberland, Eddy was joined by many of the settlers, but his whole force did not exceed two hundred men, badly equipped and without artillery."¹⁵

Colonel Eddy's attack on the fort and the failure of his enterprise is described in a letter of the leader himself to the General Court. His force consisted of a hundred and eighty men, but a hundred of these he had felt it necessary to send to other points. With the eighty that remained he proceeded to the fort, to which he began at once to lay siege. The force within, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Gorham, consisted of a hundred men, and these for several days kept the besieging party at bay. On the 27th of November an armed ship arrived from Halifax with nearly four hundred soldiers from the garrison there, and some of these entered the fort. On the 30th, two hundred soldiers rushed out of the fort to the temporary barracks where Eddy's men were quartered and ordered the besiegers away. Without making any further resistance, it would seem, which indeed would have been useless, Eddy and his men retreated to the St. John river and the fort remained secure in British hands."¹⁶

In a letter of Colonel John Allan of Cumberland, a British born man, who had been a member of the Nova Scotia legislature, but who was one of the strongest sympathizers in this part of Nova Scotia with the Eddy invasion,¹⁷ written to the Massachusetts Gen-

official positions under the Nova Scotia Government and they had sworn allegiance to the King, they therefore remained nominally loyal. Dr. Raymond's "St. John River," p. 427.

15. This statement does not seem harmonious with the records of the Massachusetts General Court, which give the date of Eddy's appeal to that body for munitions of war and provisions as the month of August. The extract from Dr. Raymond's book given here will be found on pp. 437, 438 of the volume.

16. A young Cumberland man, Richard John Uniacke, who afterward rose to exalted position in Halifax, was concerned in the revolt. He was sent prisoner to Halifax. Soon after his release he went to England to complete his law studies. In 1782, he became solicitor general of Nova Scotia, in 1783 member of the assembly for Sackville, and later speaker of the house, attorney-general, and member of the council. He died October 10, 1830.

17. Colonel John Allan between 1769 and 1776 was Justice of the Peace, clerk of sessions, and of the Supreme Court, and representative to the assembly, and held other local offices. From the beginning of 1776 he was suspected of treasonable practices. For his career and for an interesting genealogical account of the Allan family see Frederick Kidder's "Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia in the Revolution." One of John Allan's

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eral Court on the 19th of February, 1777, Colonel Allan declares that most of the English and all the French capable of bearing arms in the northern part of Nova Scotia joined the Eddy force. In the rush of the garrison upon the invading troops, he tells us, only one invader, and he a white man, was killed; the rest fled precipitately, the garrison troops following them for the distance of six miles. On the way, the pursuing party burned twelve houses and twelve barns, "in which was contained one-quarter of the bread of the country." To the residents of Cumberland who had assisted the invasion, Colonel Gorham soon issued a proclamation of pardon if they would lay down their arms, but the majority of them, it would seem, before long with their families fled across the border of Massachusetts into what is now the State of Maine, at a town called Eddington in 1785 being rewarded for their sympathy with the Revolution by grants of land ranging in size from fifteen hundred to a hundred and fifty acres.

The task of government in Nova Scotia in these suspicious and troubled times was attended by the greatest agitation among both public officials and the people who surrounded them. Indeed at Halifax, especially, where the supreme authority was exercised, there was among government officials and the people of all occupations and ranks such deep-seated apprehension and continual fear that Mr. Murdoch forcibly says the Haligonians lived "under a reign of terror." On the 8th of October, 1773, Major Francis Legge had taken the oath of office as governor-in-chief, and his stay in the province lasted until May 12, 1776. In the first momentous years of the Revolution, therefore, he was at the head of all governmental activities, and if any local-governmental influence was needed to fan the flame of disaffection against the Crown, if such existed, among the people at large, into a raging fire, his suspicious and utterly unsympathetic temper was calculated to furnish that influence. In alarming dispatches to England he charged rank disloyalty not only on the people generally throughout the province but on the members of

sisters was Jean Allan, born in April, 1759, who was married 7 February 1775, to the Hon. Thomas Cochran of Halifax, and reared there a family of great local importance. See a monograph by this author on the Cochran and Inglis families.

both houses of the provincial legislature as well.¹⁸ On the first of January, 1776, he wrote the Earl of Dartmouth that the great advances the rebels were making in Canada, and the determination of these people to capture Nova Scotia for the Revolution gave him great apprehension. He had had a law passed, he says, to enroll a fifth of the militia for active service and had tried to put the men in arms, but that the people of at least two important counties, Annapolis and Kings, as he understood, had refused to be enrolled. In the town of Halifax he had proclaimed martial law, and he had nominated a council of war to conduct the military defence of the province in general with secrecy and dispatch. On the 11th of January he enclosed to the Earl memorials from the inhabitants of Truro, Onslow, and Cumberland against the law to arm the militia, and said that a similar spirit of obstinate revolt existed in all the remoter districts.¹⁹

In November, 1776, after Legge had left the province and the government had passed into the hands of a lieutenant-governor and the Council, occurred the Eddy invasion, and the news of this and the rumor that still more powerful measures were contemplated to capture Nova Scotia threw all the authorities at Halifax into a panic of fear. Immediately a nightly patrol of the town was established, and a regular inquiry instituted into the characters and employments of all persons entering the town. Strangers coming from the country or elsewhere were ordered to report at the Provincial Sec-

18. Lieutenant-Governor, the Hon. Michael Francklin, between whom and Legge there was very bad feeling, on the 2d of January, 1776, wrote the Earl of Dartmouth: "It is with the utmost reluctance I am now obliged to inform your lordship there is great reason to believe and it is confidently asserted that the Governor has made representations of the officers of government, and that few or none of the inhabitants of this province in general, not even the officers of this government but are disaffected, and are inclinable to give countenance and assistance to the rebels now in arms against the Crown. If it be true that Governor Legge has made such representations, I do avow and assert that such representations are totally untrue and without foundation, which can be made to appear by a thousand instances." Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," Vol. 2, pp. 564, 565.

19. The petitions from Cumberland, Truro and Onslow all urge that if the husbands and fathers were obliged to enroll in the militia and leave their homes, their families would have no means of support, the Truro petition adds in addition that the settlements would be utterly defenceless against attack if the men were thus drawn off. "Those of us," the Cumberland people say, "who belong to New England being invited into this province by Governor Lawrence's proclamation, it must be the greatest piece of cruelty and imposition for them to be subjected to march into different parts of America, and that done by order of his Majesty."

retary's office, and all persons under the least suspicion were obliged to give security for good behaviour. In May, 1777, as we have seen, an effort was made to exact from all the men of Truro, Onslow, and perhaps Londonderry, a majority of whom were North of Ireland Presbyterians, an oath of allegiance to Britain, but this oath all the men of these townships with the exception of five, as we have also seen, positively refused to take. In punishment of their disloyalty the Council with amusing inappropriateness resolved to prosecute these rigid Protestants as *Popish recusants*.

Precisely how much ground Governor Legge had for accusing the members of the Council of sympathy with the Revolution it is not easy now to say. Three, at least, of them, Binney, Gorham, and Morris, were natives of Massachusetts, and Newton was of Massachusetts stock, and there is no sufficient reason why they may not all have shared to some extent the spirit which animated their friends and relatives in Boston who took the popular side.²⁰ Of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, out of a total of thirty-three members representing the province at large, no less than twenty-four were New England men, while other important public officials like the chief surveyor, the solicitor-general, the provincial treasurer, the judge of admiralty for appeals, and the register and marshal of the court of admiralty were of New England birth. Concerning the Boston born head of the judiciary, the Honourable Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher, who however died on the 30th of March, 1776, the tradition is emphatic that he was distinctly in sympathy with the Revolution. That Governor Legge was not far wrong in accusing the New Englanders, including the New Hampshire Scotch-Irish, in the province at large, of perfect readiness to separate themselves from British rule, we have given, as we believe, irrefutable proof.

20. The number of British born men in the Council up to this time had always been greater than of American born. In 1777 the council seems to have had but ten members, instead of twelve, the full number, the men of as we suppose British birth being, Richard Bulkeley, James Burrow, John Butler, John Creighton, Michael Francklin, and Arthur Goold. Of these, undoubtedly the most influential was Michael Francklin, who indeed had married into a conservative Boston family, but who retained throughout his life a strong sympathy with England, from which country he had come. That the Nova Scotia Council contained a majority of men born in Britain is to be accounted for by the fact that in 1777 civil government in the province had existed only twenty-eight years, and that since no men in public life were natives of Nova Scotia, the successive English governors had preferred to surround themselves with men born in Britain rather than men born in the New England colonies.

Of the influential Halifax merchants of New England birth, whose trade had been in large measure with Boston, there were some at least who without any doubt sympathized preponderatingly with the colonies from which they had come. Among the reputable merchants who had been in the town almost since Cornwallis landed were Joseph Fairbanks and John Fillis. In the early summer of 1775, Fairbanks gathered a cargo of hay for the British troops at Boston and had it ready for shipment. Suddenly it took fire, and some one sent a statement to Boston that Fillis in conjunction with another New England trader named Smith had had a hand in burning it. On the 16th of June, Fillis and Smith complained to the House of Assembly that they were greatly distressed by this unjust report and "were unable to detect the vile traducers of their characters," they therefore begged the legislature to exonerate them. In testimony against them was the declaration of Mr. Richard Cunningham, who had recently returned from Boston, that he had been told there that General Gage had a list of persons in Halifax disaffected to the Crown, and that the first names on that list were those of Fillis and Smith, the former of whom, at least, Gage had been told had had a part in burning the hay. Whether there was any truth in the accusation or not we cannot tell, but the House of Assembly cleared the merchants of the charge, declaring that the gentlemen in question were dutiful and loyal subjects of King George the Third, and had behaved with decency and good order. The reports against their loyalty, the Assembly voted, were "base, infamous, and false" charges.

Another of the most notable Boston born merchants in Halifax, and probably the earliest of these who had settled in the town, was Malachy Salter. On the 10th of October, 1777, an order was passed in council for Salter's arrest on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the rebels, and prosecution against him was ordered. Somewhat later he was allowed to give a thousand pounds security for his good behaviour and was remanded for trial at the next term of the Supreme Court. How long he had been under suspicion we cannot tell, but this action of the council explains the fact that a month before the order was given, Salter, then in Boston, had petitioned the Massachusetts General Court for liberty to transfer him-

self and his family and their effects from Halifax to the province of his birth. "Your petitioner," he says to the Massachusetts Legislature, "was formerly an inhabitant of the town of Boston, but has for many years past resided at Halifax in Nova Scotia, where he has a considerable interest in real and personal estate, but having suffered severely, both in person and property, on account of his political principles, and for the favor and assistance he afforded to the American seamen and others in captivity there, his residence in that province must render him very unhappy; Your petitioner therefore humbly prays that he may have liberty to depart for Halifax and return as soon as he conveniently can with his family and effects, to settle in this State, without molestation of any armed vessel, or any other person by land or water, belonging to the United States of America, and that your Honors will be pleased to grant him a certificate for his protection, and your petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray, etc." This petition was presented to the General Court on the 15th of September, 1777, and two days later was granted by both houses.²¹ At his trial by the Nova Scotia Supreme Court, however, Mr. Salter was honourably acquitted.

That the Nova Scotians at large, even in remote rural settlements, kept themselves fairly well informed concerning the progress of events in New England throughout the whole of the war we have every reason to believe. The first Nova Scotia newspaper, the *Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser*, published at Halifax, began its career in January, 1769, and in whatever it said about politics it showed sympathy for the most part with the assertion of colonial rights. In its modest columns "the question of war and of separation of the colonies from Great Britain was freely discussed six years before the first shot was fired at Lexington, and the people were informed that great numbers of Englishmen looked on America as in rebellion." Besides this means of gaining knowledge of political movements in New England, the Nova Scotians were in frequent receipt, through the coming into their harbours from Boston of trading and fishing vessels, of newspapers printed in the Massachusetts

21. See the Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 183, p. 136, General Court Records, Vol. 38, p. 29. Also Edmund Duval Poole's "Yarmouth and Barrington in the Revolutionary War," p. 32.

capital, and of news by word of mouth from the captains and crews of these vessels and occasional passengers which the vessels brought. When the stamp act was passed in 1770, the Liverpool people showed public marks of discontent with it, and we cannot doubt that the people of other counties of which we have spoken were just as strong in denouncing it as they.

The weightiest influence on Nova Scotia in favor of the Revolution was of course, to a people struggling for a prosperous existence, not so much political sentiment as the pressure of economic necessity. On the 17th of May, 1775, it was resolved by Congress "that all exportations to Quebec, Nova Scotia, the Island of St. Johns [Prince Edward Island], Newfoundland, Georgia, except the parish of St. Johns,²² and East and West Florida should immediately cease, and that no provisions of any kind, or other necessities, be furnished to the British fisheries on the American coasts until it be otherwise determined by the Congress."²³ In the spirit of this resolution of Congress, on the 5th of July, 1775, Governor Legge issued a proclamation forbidding all persons in Nova Scotia to correspond with or in any way assist the rebels in New England, and directed the justices of the peace throughout the province to publish the order and cause it to be read several times in all places of public worship. A second proclamation, also, under a recent act of the Assembly, was issued by him, forbidding arms, gunpowder, ammunition, or saltpetre being exported or carried coastwise except by license from himself.

In the Massachusetts General Court, likewise, on the 9th of April, 1776, the following prohibitive statute was passed: "Whereas it is apprehended that some of the inhabitants of this colony may be induced from a regard to their own interest to employ their vessels the ensuing season in the business of fishing, and in order to avoid the inconveniences they may be exposed to by an act of parliament prohibiting all manner of trade and commerce with the united colonies

22. "Well governed and generously treated by Parliament, Georgia had little cause to aspire after independence, but St. John's Parish sent a delegate to the Second Continental Congress in March, 1775, and its example was followed by other parishes. In 1778, the British captured Savannah, and in 1779 Augusta and Sunbury. Savannah was held by the British until 1782. The first State Constitution was framed, however, in February, 1777, and on January 2, 1788, the Federal Constitution was ratified." *New International Encyclopædia*, Vol. 9, p. 633.

23. See "Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, 1774-1775," p. 313.

and declaring forfeited all such vessels and cargoes, etc., as shall be taken belonging to the same, may make over the property of their vessels to some inhabitant of Nova Scotia; to the intent therefore that no inhabitant of this colony may unwarily go into such a method of conduct, it is resolved that if any inhabitant of this colony shall upon any pretence whatever transfer his property in any vessel to an inhabitant of the province of Nova Scotia he will therefore violate a resolve of the congress prohibiting all intercourse with the inhabitants of that province, and of course may expect to be obliged to submit to the pains and penalties due to such an offence."²⁴

Besides the strict prohibition of trade with the other colonies unless she would come frankly into the Revolution, by which her people were reduced to great distress, Nova Scotia suffered greatly from the depredations of Massachusetts privateers. As early as 1775, armed vessels were fitted out at various places in Massachusetts to prey on Nova Scotia vessels, and even on private property on land in places that were accessible from the sea.²⁵ The crews that manned these vessels in some cases well deserved the name that has been given them of "brutal marauders," for their conduct was so outrageous that even friends of the Revolution in the province were forced to remonstrate to Congress against their piracies. During the autumn of 1776, says Archdeacon Raymond, "the Bay of Fundy was so infested with pirates and picaroons that the war vessels *Vulture*, *Hope*, and *Albany* were ordered around from Halifax. But they were not entirely successful in furnishing protection, for the privateers managed sometimes to steal past the large ships in the night and in fogs, and continued to pillage the defenceless inhabitants."²⁶

"Throughout the whole period of the war," says Mr. Edmund Duval Poole, "the Massachusetts General Court was in almost constant receipt of petitions from individual inhabitants of Yarmouth, Bar-

24. Records of the Massachusetts General Court, Vol. 34, pp. 740, 741. See also p. 200.

25. In 1775, people in the interior parts of the province made earnest appeals to the Government at Halifax for ammunition for their guns, to prevent the depredations of pirates.

26. "The River St. John, its Physical Features, Legends, and History, from 1604 to 1784" (Archdeacon Raymond, LL.D., F. R. S. C.), p. 437.

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rington and other places in the Province, praying leave to return with their families and effects. These petitions were usually granted, and a pass issued to each applicant, directing the commanders of all ships of war and privateers belonging to the State not to interfere with or molest the holder on his passage between Nova Scotia and Massachusetts. But comparatively few availed themselves of the privilege after having obtained the desired permission to return. It is very evident that the written passports were themselves the desideratum, and were used as a means of protection against the reprisals of American privateers while engaged in fishing or coasting in their small shallops or schooners. In a great many instances our fishermen were able to save their vessels from capture and confiscation by this shrewd Yankee trick, although it did not always succeed."

On the part of the Nova Scotians, also, not a little retaliatory privateering was done, New England vessels being captured and brought into Halifax and their crews and the passengers on them imprisoned there. For the confinement of these prisoners of war, says a recent writer,²⁷ the prison ships and jail were utterly inadequate. Moreover, the restraints laid upon the prisoners were extremely lax, a few were allowed to give their parole and then get to their homes as best they could, but large numbers of them were constantly escaping, and the Government does not seem to have made much effort to recapture them. A great many of them made

27. This writer is the author of the very valuable articles appearing in the *Halifax Acadian Recorder* once a week, under the pseudonym "An Occasional." We have reproduced in a few sentences above, without quoting exactly, his remarks on the subject in hand. In his discussion of the subject "An Occasional" further says: "Although all manner of intercourse between the Colony and the Province was forbidden by both Governments, there was one way by which these conditions could equalize themselves, and the authorities necessarily shut their eyes to a great deal. From time to time as provisions grew scarce, it became customary for one or more of our fishermen to load his shallop with fish or salt (another article in great demand in the Colonies, and with which our people were well supplied, by reason of their trade with the West Indies), and to put on board as many of the ex-prisoners as were at hand or could be accommodated, and boldly set sail for some Massachusetts port. Often they were held up by American privateers while on their way, but usually the presence of the Americans on board, together with the permits described above, served as a means of protection and they were allowed to proceed. Upon their arrival their vessels were sometimes seized as the property of subjects of the King of Great Britain." But the next thing in order would be a petition from the owners or captains of the vessels before the cargoes could be disposed of, "praying for liberty to sell the fish or salt, to purchase provisions with the proceeds, and to depart with the same. These petitions were almost invariably granted."

their way, sometimes through the woods, sometimes along the shore, to Barrington and Yarmouth, where they were sure to find friends.

When peace between Britain and the United States was finally sealed, the restrictions of trade and general intercourse between Nova Scotia and the other colonies were of course removed, and under changed conditions, but with somewhat of the old freedom, the earlier relations between the closely allied peoples were resumed.

Why Nova Scotia did not give the Revolution the strong support the other Atlantic seaboard colonies of Britain in America gave it and become a fourteenth State in the American Union, instead of remaining a possession of the British Crown, is a question that it is hardly necessary now to answer, for the answer is implicit in the long array of facts we have in this chapter adduced. From first to last there was no reluctance on the part of a great majority of the people to throw in their lot frankly with their friends in the New England colonies who had revolted against British oppression, and many were anxious to do so, but they were a rural people, lacking the necessary equipment of war, and too few in numbers and too scattered to make organized resistance to the authority exercised at Halifax, without powerful aid from the New England colonies, at all able to succeed. That such help from the Continental Congress or the Massachusetts General Court did not come we have seen, and the Nova Scotia government being firmly in the hands of men loyal to Britain, a governor-in-chief and lieutenant governor sworn to defend British authority and a council in which Englishmen rather than colonials were in the majority, nominal allegiance to Britain on the part of the whole population was preserved. Thus Nova Scotia in the end was left divorced in large measure from the colonies to which she was bound by the closest geographical, social, and commercial ties. In such unfortunate isolation she remained until she became a province of the Dominion of Canada in the federation of the provinces in 1867.

A Rare Old Flag



THE great war in which our country is now engaged is marked with incidents of rare interest. Perhaps the most significant is the alliance of the United States with Great Britain, the Mother Country from which the American Colonies separated, and against whom a second war was waged, that of 1812-14.

The perspective of history, a final assize, has in both instances wiped out animosities. As to the War of the Revolution, it has done more—it has vindicated the cause for which Washington and his followers fought, as of almost as great importance to the Mother Country as to the New Nation from whose loins it sprang. Had the real statesmen of England been listened to at the outset of that struggle, had they been able to control the man of foreign descent, of Hanoverian principles and feeble intellect, the Third George, the American Colonies would perhaps today be such a constituent part of the British Empire as are Canada and Australia. It is to be remembered that the early American rebels did not set out to establish a new nation; they sought a redress of grievances, and constitutional government, as did their forefathers under Cromwell.

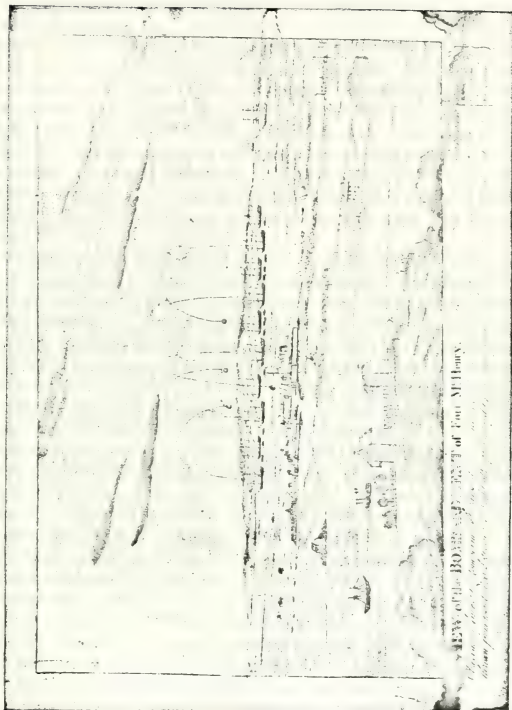
The War of 1812-14 was an insignificant affair, comparatively. Whatever its merits on either side, there is no more feeling left in either country, and both are now allied in the deepest sense in the upholding of democracy as opposed to autocracy. In the spirit of a common sympathy and a common determination, such representative bodies as the Sons of the American Revolution and the Sons and Daughters of St. George have met together on various occasions in many of our larger cities, as in St. Ann's Protestant Episcopal Church in Brooklyn in February last, in celebration of Washington's Birthday—a spirit which had a counterpart in the joint meeting of the "Blue and the Gray," former soldiers of the Union and Confederate armies, on the historic battlefield of Gettysburg, on the fiftieth anniversary of that great conflict.

A RARE OLD FLAG

On all such and kindred occasions, the "Star Spangled Banner" holds first place of honor, and its history is ever a principal theme, while the singing of soul stirring words of what has become our principal national air and hymn are never omitted. The story of how Francis Scott Key came to write his verses is familiar in a general way, but the following narrative is more specific than most of those extant.

At the time of the War of 1812-14, Key was serving as United States District Attorney for the District of Columbia, under President Madison. When the British army under General Ross reached Upper Marlboro, Maryland, on its way to attack the national capital, British officers billeted themselves at the plantation of Dr. William Beanes, a well known physician. When they came to resume their march, they, out of fear that he might reveal their movements to the Americans, took Dr. Beanes into custody and placed him in charge of the British admiral. A British soldier, writing to the "London Times," concerning the affair at Bladensburg and consequent events, said: "The inhabitants of that village (Bladensburg) at the instigation of a medical practitioner called Bran (or Beanes), had risen in arms as soon as we were departed, and, falling upon such individuals as strayed from the column, put some of them to death, and made others prisoners. A soldier whom they had taken and who escaped, gave this information to the troopers just as they were about to return to headquarters; upon which they immediately wheeled about and, fast galloping into the village, pulled the doctor out of bed (for it was early in the morning) and compelled him, by the threat of a violent death, to liberate his prisoners, and mounting him before one of the party, brought him in triumph into the camp." This account is apparently overcolored, for it is elsewhere stated on good authority that Admiral Cochrane, who occupied the house of Dr. Beanes, found no fault with the conduct of that worthy as to humanity toward the British soldiers who fell into his hands.

Mr. Key, who was serving as a volunteer aide attached to the American forces, was a close personal friend of Dr. Beanes, and, with the consent of President Madison, set out to visit the British



A RARE OLD FLAG

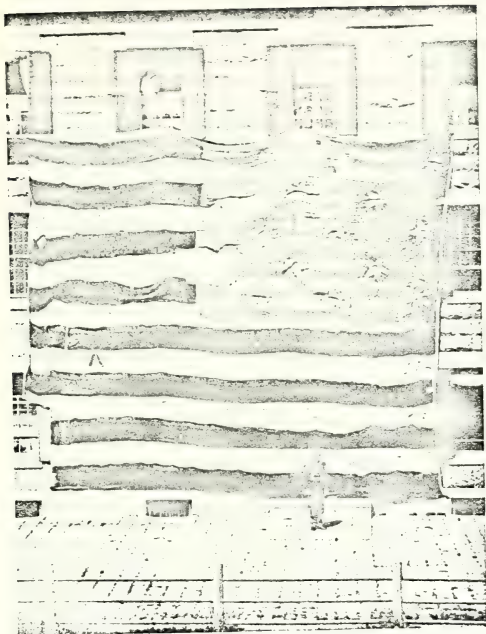
fleet under a flag of truce, in hopes of procuring the Doctor's release. He was received with all courtesy, by Admiral Cockburn, who, however, declined to release his prisoner, as the attack upon Baltimore was soon to open, and, moreover, as an additional precaution, also took Key into custody, with the assurance that both should be liberated as soon as the impending battle was over. Key and Beanes were sent under guard to the "Surprise," but were soon afterward transferred to the cartel-ship "Minden," which was moored within sight of the fort. Key and his friend paced the deck all the night, knowing from the unceasing bombardment that the fort had not surrendered. It ceased before daylight, and for a time they were in anxious suspense. At length the day broke, and, eagerly peering through the mist, they saw to their joy that "our flag was still there."

Witnessing the baffled fleet hoist sail preparatory to departure, Key's pent-up emotions, stirred to their depth by patriotic fervor and devotion, burst forth in the anthem of joy which has become the "Te Deum" of the nation. Lingerin with his friend on the deck of the ship from which they were not yet released, Key wrote down a few lines on the back of a letter, and completed the song in the boat on their way to the shore. He wrote it out fully, as we now have it, at the inn where he remained that night in Baltimore, probably the Fountain Inn, near the landing. In the morning he took it to his brother-in-law, Judge Joseph Nicholson, who had just returned from Fort McHenry, being among its defenders. It is said that the Judge suggested as an air for the words, the then familiar "Anacreon in Heaven." Key favored the suggestion, and the song was printed in the office of "The Patriot." Within an hour, so says a contemporary account, the handbills containing it, with its symbols of liberty—the eagle and clipper ship—were all over town, hailed as a spontaneous expression of the people's feelings. Meanwhile Key gave a pen copy to Captain Eades, who hastened to the tavern on Holiday street, where the actors were accustomed to assemble. Key had written on his manuscript, as the air, "Anacreon in Heaven," and Ferdinand Durang mounted a chair and sang the new song. The verses as first published in a journal (the "Baltimore American"),

appeared under the title, "A New Song by a Gentleman of Maryland." The air was the same that is sung today.

The flag which proved the inspiration of Key's magnificent effort, now known throughout the whole world, is represented in the accompanying illustration, taken from "Baltimore: Its History and People," (Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1912), and upon which the present narrative is based. The flag is 29 by 33 feet, and was deposited in the National Museum at Washington City by Mr. Eben Appleton, a descendant of Colonel Armistead, the heroic defender of Fort McHenry.

Francis Scott Key died in Baltimore, January 11, 1843. In 1884 James Lick, the California millionaire, bequeathed \$60,000 for a monument to his memory, and which now adorns Golden Gate Park, San Francisco; and in 1898 a monument was reared at Frederick, Maryland, over the remains of Key and his wife, Mary (Tayloe) Key. His most ambitious monument was unveiled in Baltimore, May 16, 1911. It is one of the most unique and most pretentious of its class in the United States, and was the gift of Charles L. Marburg, who on the 15th of December, 1906, made the offer to the city. Mr. Marburg died on the February 2nd following, after providing for the carrying out of his intention. The monument was designed by Antonin Mercie, the French sculptor who designed the tombs of Theirs and Michelet in the Cemetery of Pere la Chaise in Paris, and also the monument to the composer Gounod in the Parc Monceau. The conception is highly imaginative, representing the poet returning, after the bombardment of Fort McHenry, from the British ship aboard which he had been detained during the memorable battle, in the act of offering to Columbia the anthem which the repulse of the invaders had inspired him to write. A classic structure of caen stone with Ionic columns occupies the center of the design, rising out of the waves, and surmounted by the figure of Columbia in gilt bronze, holding aloft the "Star Spangled Banner." At its base a boat carved from stone and reposing on waves of the same material, contains the figure of Key and a sailor on verdant bronze. Key stands on the seat in the stern of the boat, with eyes upturned to the figure of Columbia; while the sailor, resting on his oars, gazes



FACSIMILE OF ORIGINAL FORT McHENRY FLAG (29x33 FEET)

This inspired Key's song. Now in National Museum,
Washington City

with rapt attention upon the poet. The waves carved from stone merge into the waters of a basin supplied from concealed fountains. On either of two sides of the stone fabric is a gilded bronze tablet, one picturing the bombardment from the fort, while the other represents the battle as seen from the attacking fleet. The unveiling of the monument was witnessed by a throng of several thousands. On the temporary stand erected for the occasion were seated many prominent citizens, among whom were Mayor Mahool, Cardinal Gibbons, ex-Governor Warfield, several descendants of Key, and members of Francis Scott Key Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. The monument was unveiled by Mrs. William Gilmore, a granddaughter of the poet. The orator of the occasion was W. Stuart Symington.

The old Fort McHenry flag was made by Mrs. Mary Pickersill, of Baltimore, under the direction of Commodore Barry and General Striker. It bore stars and stripes in number representing the States then in the Union—eight red and seven white stripes, and fifteen stars. The original United States flag bore thirteen stripes and the same number of stars, until two more of each were added on the admission of Vermont (1791) and Kentucky (1792) to the Union, making fifteen of each, and it so remained for twenty-five years. This pattern of flag was the first American ensign to be raised over a foreign fort, at Derne, Tripoli, after its bombardment and reduction in the battle against the Barbary pirates. It was also the form of the first American flag carried around the world, by Commodore Porter in the "Essex," and was also the one under which General Jackson fought at New Orleans. In 1818, by Act of Congress, the stripes were reduced to the original number of thirteen, with the provision that each State should be represented by a star, additions to be made from time to time as new States were admitted to the Union, and this law has remained unaltered to the present day.

It has been stated that the old Fort McHenry flag, now in the National Museum, shows that one of the stars has been removed, and that it was cut out and sent to President Lincoln. We have been unable to verify the latter statement. If it is a fact, the perpetrator committed an unwarranted act of sacrilege.

Morristown in the Revolution

FROM "HISTORY OF MORRIS COUNTY, NEW JERSEY," LEWIS HISTORICAL PUBLISHING CO.



THE historic building, known as Washington's Headquarters, whose foundations were laid in 1772, was finished in 1774, and occupied by the Ford family in that year. It is located on a gentle eminence nearly a mile east of Morristown Green, and in full view from the railroad. Morris avenue (Whippany road) and Washington avenue unite in front of the house, and form Morris street, one of the five thoroughfares that branch out from "The Green." During the summer of 1873 the property was offered for sale in order to settle the estate of Henry A. Ford, a lineal descendant of Colonel Jacob Ford. A few gentlemen who attended the sale, headed by former Governor and United States Senator Theodore F. Randolph, purchased the property, their object being to preserve for the people the house with its great historic associations. To this end they formed the Washington Association of New Jersey, with capital stock limited to \$50,000, transferable only with the consent of the Association, and then only to a male descendant of the holder. If no such descendant claims within five years from the death of a holder, the stock becomes the property of the State. The Association obtained a very liberal charter from the State, among its provisions being total exemption from taxation; prohibition of any unsightly building or object near by; police powers upon and near the grounds; and the semi-annual payment by the State of \$1,250 to aid in keeping the Headquarters in condition and open to the public.

The house is filled with relics and mementoes of the Revolution, with the office and bedroom furniture of General Washington, all as nearly as possible as it was when he used it. The most highly prized relic is the original pen commission issued to Washington as "General and Commander-in-Chief," signed by John Hancock,



THE NEWARK WASHINGTON

By J. Massey Rhind, sculptor, of New York; provided for by the late Amos H. Van Horn;
dedicated in November, 1912

MORRISTOWN IN THE REVOLUTION

and dated June 19, 1775, and preceding the engrossed commission ordered by the Congress. The house and grounds, beautifully kept, present a pleasant sight, the ancient cannon on the lawn and the national flag floating above giving an imposing military effect. Volumes could be and have been written concerning the Headquarters and its sacred associations. The house is open to visitors on week-days.

In connection with the foregoing in relation to the "Father of his Country" as a sojourner at Morristown, it is pleasing to add to these pages the following on "Washington and the Holy Communion," from the pen of the Rev. James M. Buckley, D. D., LL.D., the eminent divine, author and antiquarian. His narrative follows:

After the death of a great man, if he had been connected with national or general political affairs, or in places of power, especially as commander of armies on land or sea, his biography is hurriedly put upon the market. Later, others have been produced by authors who aim to make not only a great work but to spread knowledge hitherto hidden from the public. Frequently two or more bring forth histories of the life of the same man; and, when this is the case, there is often much contradiction between them. Therefore succeeding generations "instructed only by popular writers, think too highly or too meanly of the world's heroes or sages." This is illustrated in the elaborate biographies of Washington, and also in the "sketches of individual characteristics or actions;" and particularly in the question whether George Washington took the Holy Communion when his army lay encamped in the environs of Morristown, New Jersey.

The late Dr. Samuel Hanson Cox, a noted Presbyterian minister, first attracted attention to this subject. He had received the account from Dr. Hillyer, who had it from the lips of the Rev. Dr. Timothy Johnes, who had been for many years the pastor of the church, and who administered the sacrament at that time. According to Dr. Hillyer, at that time the church was occupied as a hospital for smallpox patients, that loathsome malady being epidemic in the army. During that period, the religious services were held in the orchard not far from the parsonage.

In the morning of the previous day, General Washington, after his customary inspection of the camp, visited Dr. Johnes and said: "Doctor, I understand that the Lord's Supper is to be celebrated with you next Sunday. I would learn if it accords with the canons of your church to admit communicants of another denomination?"

MORRISTOWN IN THE REVOLUTION

Doctor Johnes responded, "Most certainly; ours is not a Presbyterian table, but the Lord's table, and hence we give the Lord's invitation to all His followers of whatever name." The General replied, "I am glad of it; that is as it ought to be. But, as I was not sure of the fact, I thought I would ascertain it from yourself, as I propose to join with you on that occasion. Though I am a member of the Church of England, I have no exclusive partialities." On the next Sabbath, General Washington was present, seated on his own campstool, brought over from the residence in which he then lived.

This story is reported in the "Presbyterian Magazine," in articles in the February and December numbers for 1851. The February number contained the account, and shortly after the editor received a letter from the Rev. Nicholas Chevalier, of Virginia, who stated that some years before he was informed by Dr. Johnes, a son of the Rev. Dr. Johnes, that the religious services including the Holy Communion were then held in an orchard. The editor of the magazine wrote to Mr. Kirtland, and also to the pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church at Morristown, who had married into the family of the Rev. Dr. Johnes, and who corroborated the statement. Being convinced that, if such an account were correct, such event would be commonly known in all the important families who had descended directly from the most influential inhabitants of Morristown, I began in 1897 an investigation among them, with the following results:

1. I secured a certificate signed by Mrs. Anna Johnes Little, wife of the Hon. Theodore Little, a well known lawyer in Morristown, an elder of the First Presbyterian Church, and president of the First National Bank. It was as follows:

"It has always been the tradition in my family that Washington took the communion in a hollow back of the parsonage during the ministry of my great-grandfather, the Rev. Timothy Johnes, D. D., who was pastor of the Presbyterian church for fifty years. The churches were at that time used as hospitals, and the services were held out-of-doors behind the parsonage.

"Washington frequently asked Dr. Johnes' advice during his residence in Morristown, and they were on the most friendly terms.

"(Signed) MRS. ANNA JOHNES LITTLE.

"January, 1898."

- II. The following certificate is signed by two ladies, descendants on both sides from important families of Morristown:

"MILLS ST., MORRISTOWN, N. J.

"I have always heard, from my father and mother both, this story: That General Washington partook of the Communion at the outdoor service held in the little hollow behind Parson Johnes' house. General Washington asked him if he might com-

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mune with them, and Dr. Johnes' reply was that it was the Lord's table. It was always understood that such was the case.

"(Signed) IRENE MILLS,
"MARIA B. MILLS.

"January, 1898."

III. The following is from the Hon. John Whitehead, late United States Commissioner for New Jersey, and author of the "Judicial and Civil History of New Jersey," and of several hundred historical articles in the historical and analogous publications in the State:

"MORRISTOWN, N. J., Feb. 16th, 1898.

"MY DEAR SIR:

"My relations with Morristown prior to my continued residence there, which began in 1865, have always been of the most intimate character. My ancestors were Morristown people extending back four or five centuries. I cannot remember the time when I did not believe fully that Washington while here with the army during the Revolution, partook of the Communion with the Presbyterian church. It was one of those traditions which are believed as much as tho they were actual fact, known to have occurred. So, when I heard some years ago that it was doubted whether such an occurrence had actually happened, I took measures to satisfy myself on the subject. I was quite astounded and more disappointed to learn that there was so little evidence on the subject. The conviction of its truth was shattered, and I began to imagine that, after all, it only rested on tradition, and, almost in despair, I gave up the attempt to fortify my belief.

"But, to my very great delight, I was furnished with proof which seemed to me almost irrefragable. An old lady, one of the representatives of our most respected families, informed me that her father, who was then a ruling elder in the Presbyterian church, told her that he was present on the occasion when General Washington partook of the elements at the table, and that he himself handed him the bread and wine. The church edifice at the time was used as a hospital for the smallpox patients among the soldiers, and the congregation were in the habit of assembling in the open air, in a little dell in the rear of the parsonage, then occupied by the Rev. Timothy Johnes, D. D., then pastor of the church. This parsonage is still in existence, in most excellent preservation, and is now used by the Memorial Hospital.

"I think if any one fifty or sixty years ago, in the hearing of any old or middle-aged Morris County man had expressed any doubt as to the truth of the story about Washington's partaking of the Communion with the First Presbyterian church-members, he would have been most sharply rebuked. It was a story which no one in Morris County ever doubted, until these last years when that iconoclastic spirit, which seems disposed to destroy all our beautiful traditions, attacked this. It seems to me to savor almost of impiety for an American citizen to attempt to detract from the character of the Father of his Country, and I do not envy the man who attempts to do it.

"Very truly and sincerely yours,

"J. WHITEHEAD."

IV. The Hon. Frederick G. Burnham was a lawyer in active civil practice when I consulted him upon this subject. He is still living, and known widely as the donor and founder of the Burnham Industrial Farm. He writes:

"MORRISTOWN, N. J., February 15th, 1897.

"DEAR MR BUCKLEY:

"You requested me to give you a short narrative of a conversation that took place between Mrs. Lindsley, my great-aunt, and myself, at Morristown, in 1844. My aunt,

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I think, was about seventy-eight years of age at that time; she was born in Morris County, a sister to my grandfather, Silas Condict, who died in Morristown in 1848. My aunt frequently visited at my grandfather's house, and had taken quite a fancy to me; she was in the habit of relating many incidents of Revolutionary times to me and found a ready listener. The statement which I now make I remember as distinctly as tho it were narrated to me yesterday, and there can be no question but that I perfectly understood her.

"As the time approached, when in accordance with the Presbyterian usage the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was to be administered, Washington wrote to Mr. Johnes that he understood such to be the case; that he was unaware of the rules obtaining in the Presbyterian church, as he was a communicant in the Established Church of England, but that if it was in accordance with the rules of the Presbyterian church, it would give him great pleasure to worship with them on that occasion and to partake of the Sacrament. To this letter the Rev. Mr. Johnes replied that the custom of the Presbyterian church was to invite all Christians to the table of the Lord, as it was in no wise an ordinance belonging to the Presbyterian church alone, and that it would give him great pleasure to welcome General Washington at the service on the coming Sabbath. When the next Sabbath came the usual preparations for the church service and for the administration of the Lord's Supper were made in the open air, on the spot where they were accustomed to worship, as I have said. General Washington attended, was seated with the congregation, remained through the service, and there partook of the Lord's Supper. The only thing which I wish I could remember distinctly, is whether my aunt said that she was present herself and saw General Washington. But that she spoke of it in the most complete and detailed manner, and without the slightest possible question, and referred to it as an event which had happened within her recollection and was perfectly remembered, and of which she possessed the most perfect knowledge, there can be no question whatever.

"My profession has called upon me for many years to be cautious in sifting evidence, and I say without any question that, considering the character of the woman, her strong intellect and keen perceptions and perfect memory, there is no more doubt about the correctness of her narrative than there is of the fact that General Washington was present with his troops in Morristown in that winter. Besides this statement, made to me in this clear and emphatic manner, I wish to add that there are several persons still living in Morristown and in its vicinity to whom the above facts were told by their parents or grandparents, so that the story, as I have given it, is corroborated in a variety of ways and by a variety of persons.

"Believe me to remain,

"Very truly yours,

"FREDERICK G. BURNHAM."

V. In 1851, James Richards, D. D., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Morristown, and son of the venerable Dr. Richards, who succeeded Dr. Johnes in 1794, informed the editor of the *Presbyterian Magazine* in 1851 that he had often heard his father relate the circumstances of this Communion, he having heard it from Dr. Johnes.

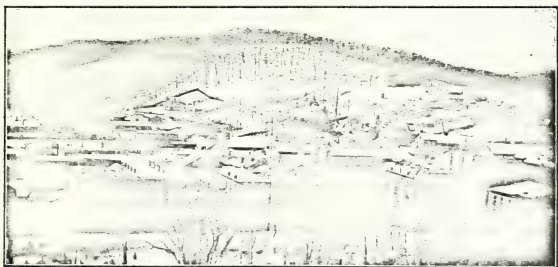
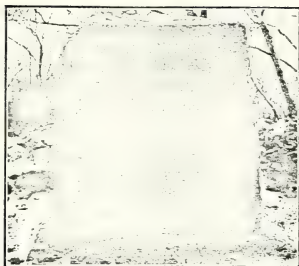
VI. Dr. Albert Barnes, famous as a commentator, was many years the pastor in Philadelphia, and was ordained and installed as pastor of the Presbyterian church and congregation in Morristown by the Presbytery on the 8th day of February, 1825. Dr. Johnes had then been dead only 29 years. Dr. Barnes informed the editor of the *Presbyterian Magazine* that he never had any doubt on the subject.

VII. Although every reasoning mind would be convinced by what has been brought forward, that George Washington participated in



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, MORRISTOWN

MOED



FORT NONSENSE HILL

MORRISTOWN IN THE REVOLUTION

the Holy Communion from the hands of the pastor and elders of the First Presbyterian Church in Morristown, I subjoin another testimony of great weight. A few days after my articles were published in the *Independent*, I received from Dr. Theodore L. Cuyler, known throughout the Protestant world, the following letter:

"DEAR BROTHER:

"I have read your article in this week's *Independent* with much satisfaction; but if I had known that you were preparing it, I could have saved you the trouble of getting those affidavits.

Morristown is the native place of my mother and ancestors. Dr. Timothy Johnes was my great-great-grandfather. In October eight years ago I published in the *Independent* an account of Washington's Communion from my ancestor, Dr. Johnes, and gave my own grandparents for the authority for the facts."

Any method which would discredit the truth of this narrative would overthrow nearly every fact in the history of mankind that rests upon tradition. It has been always believed and believed by all who had opportunity to know the facts, and has been by them transmitted to their children to the fourth and fifth generations.

FORT NONSENSE.

The hill known as Mount Washington, or Kemble Mountain, ends abruptly in Morristown, back of the court house, and it is the site of the famous old "Fort Nonsense." The spot is nearly one hundred feet above the Park, and four hundred and fifty feet above sea level. On April 27, 1888, occurred the unveiling of a commemorative monument, and the subjoined account of that interesting event is by Rev. Dr. James M. Buckley, the author previously quoted.

The business portion of the town was decked with flags, streamers and bunting. Many private residences also were decorated. The site of the pre-revolutionary Arnold Tavern exhibited a full length oil portrait of Washington. Stores were closed and business suspended. Various organizations formed in front of and either side of the First Presbyterian Church, with whose members Washington worshipped. After the procession had moved through the most important parts of the town, it marched to the Fort, where the right of the line opened, and the invited guests, the orator, the Washington Association, and others, marched and took their position at the Monument. The gun was rushed to position for the salute. Among the interested persons were two hundred and

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twelve girls from the public school, who, together with the boys, formed a body of three hundred and forty-five children. *The Banner* devoted four columns to the event.

The Monument stands on the highest point of the Fort, commanding a view on all sides. The exercises were opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Albert Erdman, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Morristown. This was followed by a short and pertinent address by Mr. J. W. Roberts, the president of the Washington Association. He gave ex-Mayor Miller credit for first proposing the erection of the Monument that would mark the fast-disappearing lines of the Fort.

Dr. J. M. Buckley, editor of the *Christian-Advocate*, of New York, was then introduced, and elevated to the top of the Monument, whence "he held the close attention of the large assembly of ladies and gentlemen as well as those who composed the various organizations massed about the Park." His address is synoptized as follows:

As early as December 7th, 1776, Washington wrote to the President of Congress that he had directed three regiments from Ticonderoga to halt at Morristown, where eight hundred militia had collected. On the 14th of December of that year, Colonel Ford's militia had an engagement with the enemy, and expected it would be renewed the next morning to gain the passes of the mountains. On the 22nd of December, Colonel Ford brought militia from Chatham up to Morristown. On the 31st of December, the colonel was taken ill, and died on the 11th of January, 1777; his father, Colonel Jacob Ford, Sr., died on the 19th day of the same month. Both of these deaths occurred before General Washington reached Morristown; the latter, as is well known, went there immediately after the battle of Princeton.

During the proceedings, Dr. Buckley introduced various incidents, in one of which, in Whippany, Anna Kitchel said: "I have a husband, a father and five brothers, in the American army; and if the God of Battles will not care for us, we will fare with the rest."

At that time the people were generally poor, but there were many patriots in Morristown. Some made powder, and others made pow-

der into cartridges. The ministers were all patriots. When General Washington went to Morristown, he did not like the situation; but after he had remained for some time, he found that the enemy could not possibly get into the county.

In December, 1779, Washington began "his Morristown life," and became the guest of the widow of Colonel Jacob Ford, Jr., at what is now the noblest monument and still most charming residence which Morristown contains, and historically inferior in interest to Mount Vernon only. "Eighteen of the servants belonging to General Washington's family, and all of Mrs. Ford's, were crowded together into the kitchen and buildings about it." And, as Washington said, "Scarce one of them were able to speak for the colds they had."

The army was encamped about four miles southwest from Morristown. To reach it from that town, one had to go nearly four miles to property now owned by D. H. McAlpin, and turn to the right and go for half a mile. On that estate there were found sixty-six fireplaces in one field, and many of these served as beacon-lights. Often at night there might be seen fire on the Short Hills, afterward followed by the brilliant lights on the Denville mountain, and all the way to the line of mountains of Orange county, New York.

After describing the situation and what was going on, the speaker then turned to traditions, the clearest of which say that, in addition to the assigned purpose of the fortification, Washington ordered its construction in order to keep the men employed so as to preserve their health and prevent the rising of discontent. Also, when he was removing, and was asked what name should be given to the Fort, he answered, "Fort Nonsense."

If we apply the test of reason to history, it appears entirely harmonious with these known facts: 1. The soldiers were kept in their huts for a long time in a cold and stormy season. 2. They were greatly dispirited. 3. They were poorly clad and sheltered, and poorly paid. 4. They were necessarily idle, unless work was laid out for them by the commander. 5. They were homeless to a great degree.

To hold them together, no more reasonable method could be de-

MORRISTOWN IN THE REVOLUTION

sired than to keep them at work. All great commanders have understood this. Work everywhere presents an antidote to ill-health, depression and excessive emotion of all kinds. It requires more determination and patriotism to endure a winter under such circumstances without fighting than it does to advance in all the panoply of war upon the enemy.

Fort Nonsense, as a name, may be by some doubted. But it is because of the partial view they have of the Father of his Country, and his peculiar situation.

Frequently opposing generals have been friends. This was seen in the Civil War between the North and the South. Scarcely a week after Washington had made his headquarters at Morristown, on January 31, 1777, he wrote two letters to Lord Howe, the commander of the British army, on the subject of the cruel usage our captured soldiers and sailors were receiving in New York, and referred for proof to their emaciated countenances which would confirm it, and "did he not endeavor to obtain a redress of their grievances," he writes, "he would think himself as culpable as those who inflicted such severities upon them."

If Washington was not a wit, he was at times capable of humor. Howe is said to have sent to Washington in their discussions a copy of Watts' version of the 120th Psalm, as follows:

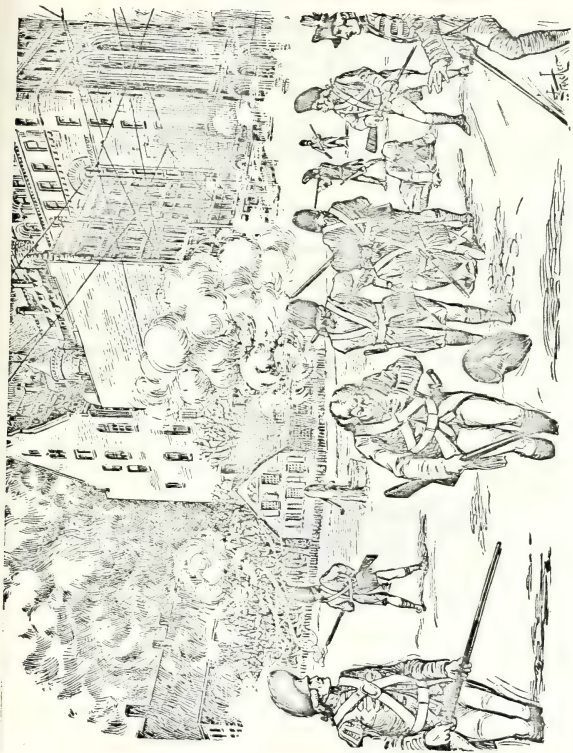
"Thou God of love, thou ever blest,
Pity my suffering state;
Wilt thou not set my soul at rest
From lips that love deceit?"

"Hard lot of mine; my days are cast
Among the sons of strife,
Whose never-ceasing brawlings waste
My golden hours of life.

"O! might I change my place,
How would I choose to dwell
In some wide, lonesome wilderness
And leave these gates of hell!"

It is also said that Washington returned Watts' version of the 101st Psalm entitled "The Magistrate's Psalm," containing the following pointed verses:

"In vain shall sinners strive to rise
By flattering and malicious lies;
And while the innocent I guard
The bold offender shan't be spared.



SKIRMISH AT MARKET AND BROAD STREETS, NEWARK, WITH 1913 BACKGROUND

From a drawing made by Edwin S. Fancher for the Newark Sunday Call

MORRISTOWN IN THE REVOLUTION

"The impious crew, that factious band,
Shall hide their heads, or quit the land;
And all who break the public rest,
Where I have power, shall be suppressed."

Dr. Buckley closed with congratulations to citizens of all classes, and especially those of foreign descent; and paid a tribute to the patriotism and good taste of the Washington Association, closing with the sentiment: The Memory of the Hero is the Treasure of His Country.

The memorial stone is as it came from its native quarry, and stands some four feet high, and weighs about four tons.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The beautiful city Morristown of today stands out in marked contrast with the village of revolutionary times, with its few and widely separated buildings. As here, so in all the various New Jersey cities and towns which were associated in name with the stirring events of that far-back day. As a sidelight, we present a view of a skirmish at Market and Broad streets, in Newark, with a present-day background, from a drawing made by Mr. Edwin S. Fancher for the Newark "Sunday Call," and published in Mr. Frank J. Urquhart's "History of the City of Newark," (Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1913).



Doctor Benjamin Thomson, The Poet

BY RUSSELL LEIGH JACKSON



AMONG the prominent men of letters who exercised great influence during the early Colonial period, there is probably no one whose name so well remembered is yet so apparently forgotten as to himself, as Doctor Benjamin Thomson, of Roxbury, Mass., whose literary productions in verse have earned for him the title of "The Poet Thomson."

The man who early in life portrayed such poetical genius, was born of a family noted for its refinement and culture, on the fourteenth day of July, 1642. The father, Rev. William Thomson, was minister at Braintree, now known as Quincy, and was regarded at that time as one of the ablest divines in the Colony. A few months after the birth of Benjamin Thomson, his father departed for Virginia to engage in missionary work. His labors in the southern colony are kindly referred to and the man himself made the subject of much praise by the eminent Cotton Mather, of Boston, in his "Magnalia." While in the South, Rev. William Thomson is generally credited with the honor of having converted to Christianity, Daniel Gookin,¹ at that time a resident of Virginia, but who later removed to Cambridge, Massachusetts, and became the progenitor of the prominent family bearing the name.

Abigail Thomson, the mother, was from the scant knowledge we have of her, a remarkable woman, exceptionally intelligent, pious, and an excellent wife. Her devotion and strength of character are

1. Major General Gookin emigrated from Virginia to Cambridge in 1644; married (1) Mary Dolling (2) Hannah (Tyng) Savage, widow of Habijah Savage and daughter of Capt. Edward Tyng of Boston. Many of his descendants have been famous, among them being President John Quincy Adams, Hon. Josiah Quincy, Judge Charles Jackson, Dr. Stephen Higginson Tyng, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, Capt. Nathaniel Tracy, Major Henry Lee Higginson, Dr. James Jackson, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, of the United States Supreme Court, and many others. Major General Gookin's children were by Mary Dolling, although his son, Nathaniel, married a daughter of Hannah Tyng, thus preserving a Tyng strain to many of his descendants.

shown in the fact that she accompanied her husband to Virginia, where, because of the change in climate, she died in January, 1643.

Soon afterwards, Rev. Mr. Thomson² returned to his parish, where he remained until his death, which occurred December 10, 1666; he was always a beloved citizen, highly respected and honored.

Benjamin Thomson, the fourth son, was reared in an atmosphere of literature, and in his sixteenth year entered Harvard College, from which he graduated in 1662, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and later Doctor of Medicine. His career while at college was fully as brilliant as was his father's at Oxford, and he matriculated with high honors. His knowledge of the sciences of mathematics and medicine would have rendered his name famous, as he was an authority on either subject, but it was in literature that he attained the most prominence, and it is as a poet and writer that he is best remembered.

Shortly after his graduation he taught school, finally becoming master of the Boston Grammar School. It was in this capacity that he was given the opportunity of imparting knowledge to the afterwards eminent Cotton Mather, one of his pupils. The latter both in his diary and in "Magnalia" refers to his teacher, Dr. Thomson, with great reverence.

He was succeeded as Master of the school in 1674 by Samuel Phipps, of Boston. A few years before, about 1668 or 1669, he had married Miss Susanna Kirtland, daughter of Mr. Philip Kirtland, of Lynn.

From 1674 until 1701 he was engaged in literary work, his ablest piece of composition written during this period being "New England's Crisis," a remarkable treatise on life in colonial days. This is the poem which contains the much quoted paragraph:

"Men had better stomachs at religion
Than I to capon, turkeycock or pigeon;
When honest sisters met to pray, not prate
About their own, and not their neighbor's state."

2. Rev. William Thomson married for his second wife, Anne, widow of Simon Crosby, by whom he had one daughter.

Mr. Thompson preached for several years at Winwick, England, and came to America in 1637, being engaged as minister first at Kittery, Maine. He was ordained 19 November, 1639. He was granted 120 acres of land in Braintree.

DR. BENJAMIN THOMSON, THE POET

As an historian who delighted in giving excellent descriptions of colonial life, he is scarcely rivalled, inasmuch as most of his work was in verse. One paragraph which I recall in particular as distinctly descriptive of domestic life and habits runs as follows:

"The dainty Indian maize
Was eat with clam shells out of wooden trays
Under thatched huts without the cry of rent,
And the best sauce to every dish, Content."

His poem on the Rev. Samuel Whiting, as given in "Magnalia," volume one, pages 510-11, is considered an excellent example of his style, as is one in commemoration of his former pupil, Cotton Mather, in the same volume, page 20.

It has generally been conceded that Doctor Thomson was by far the most intellectual person in the Colony, with the probable exception of Cotton Mather, who was many years his junior. Thomson's familiarity with Latin and Greek literature is referred to by the Rev. Abijah P. Marvin in his "Life and Times of Cotton Mather."

The advent of Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, Holmes, Emerson and other American writers of the nineteenth century, rather dimmed the once shining light of Doctor Thomson's popularity, but prior to the opening of the last century he was regarded as a famous author, and stanzas of verse from his pen were often seen in the newspaper columns, as are bits of Longfellow's or Whittier's poems seen in periodicals today.

It is rather interesting to note that the first volume of the "Impartial Herald,"³ under date of August 3, 1793, later for over one hundred and twenty years known as the "Newburyport Herald," contained the following stanza from Thomson:

"Ye shades of ancient heroes, ye who toil'd
Thro' long successive ages to build up
A labouring plan of state; behold at once
The wonder done."

In 1696 he was town clerk of Braintree, and from 1701 to 1703 he

3. The "Impartial Herald," later the "Newburyport Herald," founded in 1793, discontinued in 1915, was one of the oldest newspapers in America. Here William Lloyd Garrison set type before his removal to Boston. It was for many years owned by the Huse family of Newburyport, and the Withington family of that city, so prominent in journalism, were identified with it.

DR. BENJAMIN THOMSON, THE POET

taught the Roxbury school. His death occurred April 13, 1714, being at that time in his seventy-second year. His wife had died July 27, 1693. A most curious epitaph points out his grave in the ancient Roxbury cemetery, corner of Washington and Eustis streets:

Sub spe immortalī, ye
Herse of Mr. Benj. Thomson
Learned Schoolmaster,
& Physician & ye
Renowned poet of N. Engl.
Obiit Aprilis 13, Anno Dom.
1714 & Aetatis suae 74
Mortuus Sed Immortalis.
He that would try
What is true happiness indeed, must die.

Of the children of Doctor Thomson we have record of seven—Susanah, wife of John Saunders, of Boston; Abigail, wife of the Rev. Joseph Belcher,⁴ of Dedham; Anna; Eleanor, wife of the Rev. Thomas Symmes, of Bradford; Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. Joseph Parsons,⁵ of Lebanon, Connecticut; Benjamin, junior, who married Hannah Ellis, of Boston; Doctor Philip, of Roxbury, who married Mary Mountjoy, of Falmouth (Portland) Maine.

4. Rev. Joseph Belcher, of Boston, Dedham and Swansea, son of Joseph and Rebecca (Gill) Belcher, (H. C. 1690) a prominent divine. His portrait hangs in the vestibule of the First Church in Dedham. Died April 27, 1723. His daughter Abigail married Hon. Perez Bradford, brother of Hon. Gamaliel Bradford, son of Lieut. Samuel and Hannah (Rogers) Bradford, and great-grandson of Governor William Bradford, also of John Alden and Thomas Rogers, both of the "Mayflower." Many of Perez Bradford's descendants settled in Connecticut, New York and Rhode Island.

5. Rev. Joseph Parsons of Lebanon, Conn., son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Strong) Parsons (H. C. 1607) preached at Lebanon: Salisbury, Mass.; and died March 13, 1740. His wife died at Kensington, N. H., in 1774. Three sons, Revs. Joseph, Samuel and William, were all prominent divines. The former, born in 1702 (H. C. 1720) married Frances, daughter of Lieut. Gov. John Usher, and was grandfither of Dr. Usher Parsons, surgeon on the "Lawrence," Commodore Perry's flagship. Dr. Parsons married Mary Jackson Holmes, daughter of Rev. Abiel and Sarah (Wendell) Holmes, sister of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, and great-granddaughter of Hon. Edward and Dorothy (Quincy) Jackson, of Boston. Mary (Jackson) Wendell, mother of Sarah (Wendell) Holmes, was a sister of Hon. Jonathan Jackson, of Newburyport, who married Hannah, daughter of Capt. Patrick Tracy. Mary J. Holmes was also descended from Anne Bradstreet, the poetess, so that two very literary families were united at her marriage to Dr. Parsons.

Rev. Samuel Parsons, born in 1707 (H. C. 1730) married Mary, daughter of Samuel Jones, and was ancestor to the founder of Parsonsfield, Maine.

Rev. William Parsons, the third son, born in 1716 (H. C. 1735), married Sarah Burnham.

The Expulsion of the British Consuls by the Confederate Government

BY MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR., LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY.



FROM the formation of the Confederate Provisional Government in 1861 to the surrender of Lee's army, the status of foreign consuls in Southern ports was a vexatious question. The extreme State rights advocates wished to demand that these agents secure new exequators from the Confederate government. The government itself took the position that so long as the consuls who had been received prior to the formation of the Confederacy, treated the government thereof with proper respect, they might continue to act under the exequators issued by the United States government, which, at the time of issue was the properly accredited agent of the States later seceding.

The uncertainty of their status, the exigencies of the military, economic and political situation, and in many cases their own lack of tact, caused these consular officials to engage in controversy with almost every State government, the naval, military, and civil authorities of the Confederacy, and the naval and military officials of the Union.¹

One case is of especial interest. Streight's raid in the spring of 1863, the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson a few weeks later, the tightening of the blockade of Savannah and Charleston and the siege of the latter city, caused the Confederate government and the authorities of Georgia and South Carolina to make extra efforts to recruit their forces. Both of these States ordered the enrolling of all able-bodied men of certain ages, including (for local defense) for-

1. Bonham, "British Consuls in the Confederacy," *passim*; Butler, "Judah P. Benjamin," *passim*; Callahan, "Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy"; Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Confederacy"; Garner, et al., "Studies in Southern History and Politics," ch. iv; "Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies," Series I, vols. XVI; *ibid*, I, XV.

eign residents. The British consuls at Charleston and Savannah at once inaugurated a correspondence with governors of these States, as well as with the Confederate State Department, protesting that British subjects were not liable for even local duty. Finding their protests unavailing, the two consuls notified the respective governors, about October 1, 1863, that they had instructed their "nationals" who might be unwillingly enrolled, that they should throw down their arms in the face of the enemy.² The governors notified the consuls that such an act by a soldier would be dealt with according to martial law. The governor of Georgia (Joseph E. Brown) and the consuls forwarded copies of the correspondence to the Confederate government. Judah P. Benjamin, of Louisiana, was at this time Secretary of State. He received these startling documents on October 7, 1863. Congress was not in session, and the day before President Davis had started on a visit to Atlanta and Chattanooga. As Governor Brown and the Confederate authorities were rather at loggerheads, and General Bragg was in a controversy with General Forrest and other subordinates, it was highly inexpedient to recall the President, who was on a mission of conciliation. It was impossible to give him an adequate idea of the situation by telegraph, yet the crisis demanded prompt action.

Mr. Benjamin decided upon a course unique in American history, namely, to take the grave responsibility of expelling foreign agents, in the absence of and without the knowledge of the President. When the President of the United States has been away from the capital he has arranged to keep so closely in touch with affairs that such a critical decision could scarcely be necessary in his absence.³ Calling his fellow cabinet officers together, Mr. Benjamin laid the circumstances before them and expressed the opinion that the consuls should be expelled. Finding his colleagues in entire accord with him, he drew up the order, in the form of a letter to the consul at Savannah, copies of which were sent to the other consuls, to the press, to

2. "Pickett Papers," (Mss. Archives of the Confederate Government, now in the Library of Congress); Candler, "Confederate Records of Georgia," III, 391-403; "Pickens-Bonham Mss." (Library of Congress); "Sessional Papers of Parliament," (Commons), 1864, LXII, 413 et seq.

3. For example, see the instructions of Washington and Jefferson to their cabinets, as discussed in the "Yale Review," XV, 190 et seq.

BRITISH CONSULS AND THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT

the Confederate Commissioner to France (John Slidell), to President Davis, etc., etc. In this letter the secretary said that it appeared that "the consular agents of the British government [had] been instructed not to confine themselves to an appeal for redress to the courts" or the Confederate government, "but that they even arrogate[d] the right to interfere directly with the execution of the Confederate laws, and advise soldiers of the Confederate armies to throw down their arms in the face of the enemy. This assumption of jurisdiction by foreign officials within the territory of the Confederacy, and this encroachment on its sovereignty, [could] not be tolerated for a moment." Therefore the consuls were directed to "promptly depart from the Confederacy and in the meantime . . . cease to exercise any consular functions within its limits."

On receiving notice of this action, the President telegraphed his approval. As the blockading forces would not permit British warships to enter the beleaguered ports to take them away, the consuls were unable to depart as ordered, but the military and civil authorities were instructed to see that the "expelled" agents in their respective fields ceased all official activities. The British government ordered the consul-general at Havana to proceed to Richmond to protest against this action of the Confederate authorities, but the Federal government refused to let him pass through the blockade.⁵

President Roosevelt, when he ordered the mustering-out of a battalion concerned in the Brownsville trouble, cited as a precedent a similar action by General Lee. So far, it has not been necessary for a Federal Secretary of State to take drastic action in the absence of the President. Should the occasion arise, he, like Mr. Roosevelt, can find a precedent (and the only American one, so far as my research goes), in Confederate procedure.

4. Pickett Papers"; Sessional Papers," ut supra; Richardson, ut supra, II, 576 et seq.; "Journal of the Confederate Congress," VI, 503; "Annual Cyclopaedia," III, 788; "London Times," Oct. 31, 1863; "Richmond Enquirer," Oct. 15; "Richmond Sentinel," Oct. 14.

5. Hansard, "Parliamentary Debates," Series 3, CLXXIV, 1917; U. S. Dept. of State, "Diplomatic Correspondence," 1864-5, II, 568.

Editorial

WORDS OF APPRECIATION

It is certainly gratifying to note the words of appreciation that come with relation to "Americana." A subscriber in Boston writes: "I congratulate you very heartily on the elegance of your January issue. You have brought 'Americana' to a rebirth in a rather magnificent manner." Another, who was a contributor to that number, writing from Cambridge, New York, says, "I congratulate you on the splendid appearance of the Magazine, and the excellence of its contents. I feel it an honor to be associated with it." A third, writing from Princeton, New Jersey, says, "Your 'Americana' is the best appearing magazine of its kind that I have ever seen."

With all due thanks for these kindly words, it is fitting to remark that, while they awaken gratitude, they also impose upon the management no small responsibility—not only that of maintaining the present standard, but of making such constant improvement as its best abilities will admit.

A REGRETABLE DISPERSION

The early part of March witnessed the dispersion of a most remarkable collection of firearms, swords and sabres, a collection with which none other in the country can compare, so far as we have knowledge. It was the accumulation of fifty years, made by Mr. James Dean, of Freeport, Long Island, a veteran of the War for the Union, and a first authority on the history of battle arms of every description since the invention of gunpowder. The sale was from the Keeler Art Galleries, 12 Vesey Street, New York City. The items were 1296 in number, and with the exception of a few comparatively insignificant pieces, each article was called and sold separately—rare specimens of English, French, Belgian, German, Aus-

trian, Prussian, Turkish, Japanese, African and Russian arms; and even an ancient Chinese matchlock gun, beautifully inlaid with gold and silver. The collection was particularly rich in both British and American arms of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, and of Union and Confederate arms of Civil War times. It is to be regretted that the entire collection could not have passed to some museum, instead of being scattered throughout the whole country.

"TOM" MOORE IN AMERICA

Dr. Eaton, in his admirable chapter of "History of Halifax," in the preceding number of this Magazine, mentions the visit to that city of the Irish poet, "Tom" Moore. Of course it was not within the scope of the writer to elaborate upon such incidents as that visit; it would require volumes to mention the celebrities who during two centuries and more came within the gates of the famous "Citadel City," and anything of their doings while there. Of them all, few are better known to the world than Moore; perhaps none of them known to the world of letters has left to us so little of his impressions while there.

Moore had become so famous for his verse that he was made Poet Laureate, but his only official work in that capacity was one ode, and he resigned the position. In September, 1803, he left England for Bermuda, having been appointed registrar of the Admiralty Court there. His duties were uncongenial, and he appointed a deputy, and after an absence of fourteen months returned home. Four months of that time were passed in the United States and Canada. While in Bermuda he wrote various sonnets, few if any of which are familiar to American readers or possess any interest for them. On his way home, he tarried at Norfolk, Virginia, and his stay there was marked by a few poems addressed to ladies whom he met, and by one which was set to music, and was a familiar parlor song of a past generation. It was founded upon a local legend of a young man whose sweetheart having died, lost his mind, strayed away from home, and perished in the Dismal Swamp, vainly searching for her whom he loved. The verse begins with the stanza:

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"They made her a grave too cold and damp
For a heart so loving and true;
And she's gone to the Lake of the Dismal Swamp,
Where all night long, by a fire-fly lamp,
She paddles her white canoe."

In Washington, Moore wrote a string of verses by no means complimentary to the city, to the American people, or to their institutions, as witness the following from his notes and letters:

"A little stream runs through the city, which, with intolerable affectation, they have styled the Tiber. It was originally called Goose Creek.

"The Federal City (if it must be called a city). . . . The President's house, a very noble structure, is by no means suited to the philosophical humility of its present possessor (Jefferson), who inhabits but a corner of the mansion himself, and abandons the rest to a state of uncleanly desolation.

"In the ferment which the French revolution excited among the Democrats of America, and the licentious sympathy with which they shared in the wildest excesses of jacobinism, we may find one source of that vulgarity of vice, that hostility to all the graces of life, which distinguishes the present demagogues of the United States, and has become indeed too generally the character of their countrymen."

Interrupting for the moment the continuity of the poet's journey, it may be remarked with some satisfaction that he was scarcely better satisfied with Halifax. His only noticeable poem with reference to that city is of his leaving it on the ship *Boston* for home:

"With triumph this morning, oh, Boston! I hail
The stir of thy deck and the spread of thy sail,
For they tell me I soon shall be wafted in thee
To the flourishing isle of the brave and the free;
And that chill Nova Scotia's unpromising strand
Is the last I shall see of American land."

Possibly this is hypercritical, for, of all the poets, none is more loveable than "Tom" Moore, and songs of his live wherever the English tongue is heard, side by side with those of Burns. In one respect he even surpasses Scotia's bard; his Irish Ballads and National Airs are at once touching and soul stirring; and many of them find an echo in every English and American heart as an ex-

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pression of fervent patriotism and martial spirit. Many of these, with such others as "Those Evening Bells," and "Oft in the Stilly Night," will live when "Lalla Rookh" and "Loves of the Angels" are forgotten—as, indeed, they wellnigh are already.

In the estimation of many, Moore is at his best in his Sacred Songs. These were given exquisite musical settings from Beethoven, Haydn, Mozart, Handel, and other great masters; while not a few are set to charming themes specially written for them by Sir John Stevenson. Various of these are found in some of the best hymnals, and are used in church worship and on funeral occasions. The following is worthy to rank with Addison's "Spacious Firmament on High:—"

"Thou art, O God, the life and light
Of all this wondrous world we see;
Its glow by day, its smile by night,
Are but reflections caught from Thee.
Wher'er we turn, Thy glories shine,
And all things fair and bright are Thine."

Another rare gem is the following:

"Oh Thou who dry'st the mourner's tear,
How dark this world would be
If, when deceived and wounded here,
We could not fly to Thee.
The friends who in our sunshine live,
When winter comes are flown;
And he who has but tears to give,
Must weep those tears alone."

"But Thou wilt heal that broken heart
Which, like the plants that throw
Their fragrance from the wounded part,
Breathes sweetness out of woe."

And this:

"As down in the sunless retreats of the ocean
Sweet flowers are springing no mortal can see—
So, deep in my soul the still prayer of devotion,
Unheard by the world, rises silent to Thee—
My God! silent, to Thee—
Pure, warm, silent to Thee."

It only remains to name that sweetly touching "Come, ye Disconsolate," with its familiar setting, and which has an echo, if not a partial imitation, in Chopin's "Funeral March"—to forgive all of

"Tom" Moore's trespasses (none of a seriously unmoral kind) and take him to our hearts as one who, in supreme degree, voices the best that in us lies, and beyond our own expression.

A RARE OLD FLAG

Under the above caption (p. 205) is an account of the flag at Fort McHenry, which inspired the writing of our national song, "The Star Spangled Banner." The narrative reminds the writer that while the song was first sung in Baltimore, Maryland, in that city was also sung for the first time the most famous lyric of the South in the Civil War period, and one of the most stirring and dramatic evoked in that time—"Maryland, My Maryland," by James Ryder Randall.

The author of the song was a native of Baltimore. When the Civil War opened, he was filling the chair of English Literature at Poydras College, at Pointe-Coupée, Louisiana. When came to him news of the clash in the streets of Baltimore, April 19th, 1861, while a Massachusetts regiment was marching through on its way to the national capital, he wrote the verses, which were printed in the "New Orleans Delta" on April 26th, and were copied into most southern newspapers within a few days. They first appeared in Baltimore in "The South," on May 31st, and were first sung in that city by Henry C. Wagner, to the air of the then familiar "Ma Normandie." A few days later, at a social gathering in the same city, Miss Jennie Cary suggested as a more suitable air, that of the college song, "Lauriger Horatius." This in its turn was displaced by the German folk-song air, "Tannenbaum, O Tannenbaum," and to which it has ever since been sung.

Another coincidence: The first printing of "Maryland, My Maryland," music with the words, was in Baltimore, through the effort of Miss Rebecca Lloyd Nicholson, who copied the air from a Yale song-book, and took it to a publisher. This Miss Nicholson was a granddaughter of Judge Joseph Nicholson, who, as related in this Magazine (page 207), was instrumental in giving "The Star Spangled Banner" to the world, nearly fifty years before.

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BOOK REVIEWS

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PENNSYLVANIA BIOGRAPHY; by John W. Jordan, LL.D.; 10 volumes; quarto, half leather, pp. 400 to each volume; eight volumes issued; price \$9 a volume. The Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 265 Broadway, New York City.

This valuable series is replete with biographical data and enriched with genealogical material of value. In reviewing the series we find that high ideals are constantly kept in view. Wealth and position are not the only requirements for representation; achievements are properly estimated, and are the essential qualifications for all whose biographies appear. It is profusely illustrated with full page steel and copper portrait engravings. This work is recommended to all genealogical libraries.

HISTORY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE; by Everett S. Stackpole, author of "Old Kittery and Her Families," "History of Durham, N. H.," etc.; five volumes, illustrated; American Historical Society, New York.

To the production of this valuable work, the author has brought abilities of a very high order, and indefatigable industry. While he has availed himself of all standard works, he has added much new matter concerning the early history of the State, gleaned from manuscripts recently copied in London, under the direction of the New Hampshire Historical Society. A highly capable advisory board comprising many of the most thoroughly informed men of the State, of national reputation, have aided with advice and suggestions, and in the settlement of disputed points. The work is well illustrated, and contains various fine reproductions of ancient maps. The historical narrative comprises four volumes, the fifth volume being devoted to genealogical and biographical matter relating to New Hampshire people.

LOVE AND LIFE; by Thomas Williams Bicknell, A. M., LL.D., Providence, Rhode Island.

It is remarkably well that one who has spent more than two-thirds of a century as an educator, historian, antiquarian and author, now, well past his eightieth year, has the erectness of frame and sprightliness of motion that belong to few a score of years younger; it is better that he preserves his intellectual vigor to such

a degree that he is at the present moment closing up a monumental historical work, ("History of Rhode Island," soon to be published by the American Historical Society); it is best of all that he retains the sunniness of disposition and warmth of heart that in so many cases, probably in most, are seen only to youth.

Such a one is the author of the little volume of poems above named. His verse stories of the past, such as "The Little White Church," "The Old Grist Mill," "The Old Homestead," and "The District School," refeature to the reader a generation which belongs to ancient history, as does he whom Oliver Wendell Holmes pictures in "The Last Leaf," and with whom is ever associated the Great Lincoln for his love of its pathetic lines:

"And the mossy marbles rest
On the lips that he has pressed
In their bloom—
And the names he loved to hear
Have been carved for many a year
On their tomb."

Mr. Bicknell's verses dealing with the human affections are the utterances of a heart full of love not only for those near and dear, but for all humankind; his "Song of the Years" shows him undismayed by their passage; while his "I'm Not Over Sixty," written on his eightieth birthday, reveals his heart and mind as in perennial spring.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY; by a Notable Board of Contributors and Revisors; 16 volumes, quarto, half leather, pp. 400 to each volume; three volumes issued; \$12 a volume; American Historical Society, 267 Broadway, New York City.

A number of national encyclopedias have been published, containing the biographies of American men and women. These have been issued in encyclopedia style of writing, and consisted of bare facts told in a concise manner. In the new "Encyclopedia" the subjects are dealt with in more detail, and the reader is not only able to retain the facts, but can also estimate the traits of character that were an essential factor in the career of the subject. The typographical features of the volumes are pleasing to the eye; a large distinct type is used, and the double column pages are easily read. In the first volume alone there are over sixty-five page steel engravings, besides a number of copper plates, and the other volumes are also profusely illustrated. The "Encyclopedia" shows many im-

provements over any of its predecessors; the biographies are limited to those who have been identified with the public, commercial and literary affairs of the country since the close of the Civil War.

NEW JERSEY'S FIRST CITIZENS, 1917-18; octavo, pp. 564; price \$10; published by J. J. Scannell, Paterson, N. J.

This work is of unique character. It is devoted to biographies and portraits of notable living men and women of New Jersey, and the compiler has limited the number to five hundred. As sixteen deaths occurred during the publication of the work, the sketches of such are omitted, leaving represented in the work four hundred and eighty-four of the foremost citizens of the State. The compiler claims that he favored none in his selection. While some of the sketches are of persons among the leaders in the world, and frequently mentioned in the public press, there are numbers relating to the modest workers who have been the vitalizing, fruitful and elevating forces in the community life, and these are rightly given their place in the publication.

The compiler in his missionary work in obtaining material for the sketches, seems to have encountered opposition among some of the first citizens of the State, who feared that the work would not be exclusive enough for their appearance, and therefore failed to co-operate with the editor in aiding him to obtain the material to make the work as complete as it should be. This is a complaint made by most compilers of genealogical and biographical works. Some citizens, in many cases those who owe their advancement in life to the public voice, seem chary to furnish data of themselves to make a public record to be preserved. They, therefore, assume a position contrary to all precedents of the past, as it is only through the personal chronicles of the first citizens of ancient times that we are able to obtain a truthful account of the history of the world during the periods with which they were identified.

The compiler promises to issue a revised edition of the work biennially, the next volume to appear in January, 1919. The publication is an addition to any library interested in genealogy and biography. The work is illustrated with portraits of some of those whose biographies appear.



Arthur H. Arnold

AMERICANA

JULY, 1918

Arnold and Allied Families

Arnold Arms—Purple, azure and sable, three fleurs-de-lis or, for Ynir; gules a chevron ermine, between three pheons or, for Arnold.

Crest—A demi-lion rampant gules, holding between its paws a lozenge or fire ball.

Motto—*Mihi gloria cessum.*

The family of Arnold had its beginning among the ancient Princes of Wales, tracing according to the records in the College of Arms to Ynir, King of Gwentland, 1100, a lineal descendant of Ynir, second son of Cadwalader, King of the Britons. In the twelfth generation a descendant of Ynir, Roger, adopted the surname of Arnold. From Roger Arnold came William and Thomas Arnold, the American ancestors of the distinguished Arnold family of Rhode Island. The descent of William and Thomas Arnold from Ynir, King of Gwentland, covers sixteen generations, and extends over a period of more than four and a half centuries. In point of honorable antiquity and prominence in English history, the Arnold family ranks among the most important of the kingdom. The American family of the name occupies a place in American life and affairs no less influential than that of the early English house.

I. *Ynir*, King of Gwentland, married Nesta, daughter of Justin, King of Glamorgan.

II. *Meiric*, King of Gwentland, married Eleanor, of the house of Trevor.

III. *Ynir Vichan*, King of Gwentland, married Gladice, daughter of the Lord of Ystradryr.

IV. *Carador*, King of Gwent, married Nesta, daughter of Sir Ry-dereck le Gros.

V. *Dyenwall*, Lord of Gwent, married Joyes, daughter of Hamlet, son of Sir Druce, Duke of Balladon, of France.

VI. *Systal*, Lord of Upper Gwent, married Annest, daughter of Sir Peter Russell, Lord of Kentchinch, in Hereford.

VII. *Arthur*, married Jane, daughter of Lein, Lord of Cantrosblyn.

VIII. *Meiric*, married Annest, daughter of Craddock.

IX. *Gwillim*, married Jane, daughter of Ivon, Lord of Lighs-Tabyvont.

X. *Arnholt, Esq.*, married Janet, daughter of Philip Fleming, Esq.

XI. *Arnholt (2) Esq.*, married Sibyl, daughter of Madoc.

XII. *Roger Arnold*, of Llanthony, in Monmouthshire, England, was the first of the family to adopt a surname. Arnold as a personal name is now practically forgotten in English speaking countries. Nevertheless it was widely popular in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, at the time when fontal names were being universally adopted as surnames. Arnold, with its many variations and diminutives, became a great favorite. Roger Arnold, in adopting the surname which has served the family to the present day, chose the fontal name of his father and grandfather, namely Arnholt, or Arnold. He married Joan, daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage.

XIII. *Thomas Arnold*, son of Roger Arnold, and successor to the estates in Monmouthshire, married Agnes, daughter of Sir Richard Warnstead.

XIV. *Richard Arnold*, son of Thomas and Agnes (Warnstead) Arnold, married Emmate, a daughter of Pearce Young.

XV. *Richard (2) Arnold*, son of Richard (1) and Emmate (Young) Arnold, was born in Somersetshire, England, and later removed to Dorsetshire, where he became lord of the manor at Bagbere. His name appears on the "Subsidy Rolls" of the County of Dorset, 1549. He was patron of the churches of Blanford and Bingham Melcombe. His manor house at Bagbere was standing until 1870, when it was demolished. His will was probated July 9, 1595; he desires "to be buried in the Parishe Church of Milton, in the Ile called Jesus Ile as we go to the Tower."

ARNOLD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

XVI. *Thomas Arnold*, second son of Richard (2) Arnold is mentioned in his father's will. He resided for some time at Malcombe Horsey, and removed later to Cheselbourne, locating on one of his father's estates. The family register of baptisms of his children was preserved and brought to America. He married (first) Alice, daughter of John Gulley, of North Over, parish of Tolpuddle, near Cheselbourne. Their children were: 1. Thomasine. 2. Joanna, baptized November 30, 1577. 3. Margery, born August 30, 1581. 4. Robert, baptized 1583. 5. John, born 1585. 6. William, mentioned below. Children of the second wife: 7. Elizabeth, born 1596. 8. Thomas, born April 18, 1599; settled in Watertown, Massachusetts, as early as 1640, and was the founder of the notable Arnold family of that vicinity. 9. Eleanor, baptized July 31, 1606.

THE FAMILY IN AMERICA

I. *William Arnold*, immigrant ancestor and founder of the Rhode Island Arnold family, was the son of Thomas Arnold, and the youngest child of his first wife, Alice (Gulley) Arnold, and was born in Leamington, England, June 24, 1587. He lived for a time at Cheselbourne, where he was appointed administrator of the estate of his brother, John Arnold, November 23, 1616. In 1635 he emigrated with his family to America and located in the town of Hingham, in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, where he was a proprietor in that year. In 1636 he was associated with Roger Williams in the founding of Providence, and was one of the twelve who received from him deeds to the lands the latter had bought from Canonicus and Miantonomi. In 1636 he removed to Pawtuxet, and in the same year came into possession of large tracts in Providence and Warwick. He was one of the twelve first members of the Baptist church. William Arnold was one of the most prominent figures in the early life of the colony until the time of his death, and filled numerous posts of trust and responsibility. He was prominent in the troubles between Massachusetts and Rhode Island over the Gortonists, and for a period of fifteen years was one of those who subjected themselves to the government of Massachusetts; he later turned to the jurisdiction of Rhode Island, however. He received deeds at sun-

dry times from Thomas Olney, Henry Fowler, William Harris, Ralph Earl, etc., the last of which indicates that he was then living, (in 1652) near Pawtuxet Falls, on the north side of the river. William Arnold was a representative of the finest type of immigrant to the American colonies in the seventeenth century, coming of a fine stock, highly intelligent and intellectual, refined and cultured, a leader of men. His progeny since the time of the founding of the family in New England has been of the same type, and has wielded large influence in American life and affairs. He died some time between 1675 and 1677. He married, in England, Christian Peake, daughter of Thomas Peake, and they were the parents of the following children: 1. Elizabeth, born November 23, 1611. 2. Benedict, born December 21, 1615; president of Providence Plantations, 1657-60-62-63, and Governor of the Rhode Island Colony, 1663-78. 3. Joanna, born February 27, 1617. 4. Stephen, mentioned below.

II. *Stephen Arnold*, son of William and Christian (Peake) Arnold, was born in Leamington, England, December 22, 1622. He was in his thirteenth year when in 1635 he accompanied his parents to America, residing with them at Providence for some time. He later settled at Pawtuxet, where he had a large estate, a portion of which he divided among his sons during his lifetime. He was prominent in public affairs and held important offices in the colony. The size of his estate is indicated by the fact that he was taxed one pound, September 2, 1650. He purchased one hundred and twenty-five acres of land at Pawtuxet, August 14, 1659, and bought lands of the Indians, south of the Pawtuxet river, July 30, 1674. He was a large importer of liquors, bringing in seventeen ankers in all between 1660 and 1664. He was deputy to the General Court in 1664-65-67-70-71-72-74-76-77, 1684-85, and 1690, and was assistant in 1672-77-78-79-80-90-96 and 1698. In 1681 he purchased seven hundred and fifty acres and other tracts in Warwick, and in that year his taxable estate in Providence included one hundred and fifty-two acres of property, forty head of cattle, seven horses, eighty-seven sheep, and five swine. In 1678 he received fifty shillings from the colony for sheep furnished for the sustenance of troops quartered at Pawtuxet. The greater part of his estate was

ARNOLD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

distributed by him in gifts and deeds before his death. He died November 15, 1699, in Pawtuxet, and his will was proved December 12th of that year. Stephen Arnold was one of the wealthiest and most prominent of the landed proprietors of Rhode Island of his day. He married, November 24, 1646, Sarah Smith, born in 1629, died April 15, 1713, daughter of Edward Smith of Rehoboth, Massachusetts.

III. *Israel Arnold*, son of Stephen and Sarah (Smith) Arnold, was born in Pawtuxet, Rhode Island, October 30, 1649, and died at Warwick, Rhode Island, September 15, 1716. He was admitted a freeman in 1681, and served as deputy to the General Court in 1683-90-91-1700-02-03-05-06. In 1690 he was a member of a commission to apportion the taxes of the colony among the several towns. In 1703 he protested with others against the expenditure of money for sending agents to England. He married, April 16, 1677, Mary, widow of Elisha Smith, and daughter of James and Barbara (Dungan) Barker. She died September 19, 1723. His will, dated March 23, 1717, was proved September 23 of that year, and was administered by his wife Mary and son Joseph.

IV. *William Arnold*, son of Israel and Mary (Barker-Smith) Arnold, was born at Warwick, Rhode Island, about 1681. He died at Warwick, June, 1759. About 1705 William Arnold married Deliverance Whipple, born February 11, 1679, daughter of John and Rebecca (Scott) Whipple.

V. *Caleb Arnold*, son of William and Deliverance (Whipple) Arnold, was born at Warwick, Rhode Island, about 1725, and died at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, March 13, 1799. He resided in Pawtucket, during the greater part of his life, and was prominent in its affairs. He married Susanna (Stafford) McGregor, born March 10, 1722-23, widow of Alexander McGregor, and daughter of Joseph and Susanna Stafford, of Warwick, Rhode Island. Children: Joseph, Samuel, William, Patsy and two other daughters.

VI. *Captain Joseph Arnold*, son of Caleb and Susanna (Stafford) Arnold, was born at Cranston, Rhode Island, August 13, 1755.

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He was a soldier in the Revolution, serving with Captain Thomas Holden's company, Colonel James Varnum's regiment, at Bunker Hill, and later came under General Washington's command. In June, 1777, he was appointed as first lieutenant of Captain Cole's company. He was ensign in Colonel Christopher Greene's regiment, which marched to Morristown, New Jersey, serving under General Washington in April of that year; marched to Fort Montgomery, joined the main army in Pennsylvania, marched to White-stone, going later into winter quarters at Valley Forge with the army that suffered such hardships. On June 1, 1778, he was appointed captain; was in General Sullivan's expedition, recruited a company of black troops which he commanded, and honorably discharged November 9, 1779. By virtue of his rank he was entitled to membership in the Society of the Cincinnati, joining the Rhode Island branch of the Society, December 17, 1783. Captain Joseph Arnold died at Apponaug, July 20, 1840. He married, September 6, 1785, Sarah Stafford, daughter of Stukeley Stafford.

VII. *Joseph Franklin Arnold*, son of Captain Joseph and Sarah (Stafford) Arnold, was born at Cranston, Rhode Island, in 1788, and died there August 15, 1855. He married, March 24, 1816, Sarah Rice, who was born April 2, 1795, a daughter of William and Sarah Rice, of Cranston, Rhode Island.

VIII. *Joseph Franklin (2) Arnold*, son of Joseph Franklin (1) and Sarah (Rice) Arnold, was born in Apponaug, Rhode Island, June 23, 1821. Early in life, after western travel, he settled at New Orleans, Louisiana, then third in commercial importance among the cities of the Union. He there became identified with Mississippi river steamboat navigation, and owned the "Eclipse" and the "Natchez," two boats well known on the river. The Civil War swept away the fortune he had been many years in amassing, and drove him a fugitive to the wilderness, but he finally succeeded in reaching his native State. He at once began rebuilding his fortunes by establishing a sale and exchange mart in Providence, which he successfully conducted the remainder of his life. He died in Warwick, Rhode Island, December 21, 1881.

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Married, at New Orleans, June 14, 1849, Louise Constance, born in Demeroringer, France, April 6, 1831, and died January 6, 1917.

Joseph Gilbert, connected with the Arnold family of Rhode Island through his marriage in June 14, 1893, to Miss Caroline Arnold, daughter of Joseph Franklin Arnold and his wife, Louise (Constance) Arnold, was born in the town of Woonsocket, Rhode Island, July 24, 1852. He received a liberal education in the public schools of his native place, and after graduating he immediately entered into business, spending the following period of forty years in Woonsocket and Blackstone, Rhode Island. After several extensive business trips through the Southern States he returned north and settled in 1893 in Apponaug, where he resided the remainder of his life.

Although keenly interested in many branches of business, he followed the real estate trade for a great many years. He started in a small way in Woonsocket, but soon struck out for larger fields, and opened offices in the old Howard building in Providence. He became known and popular among the business men of the latter city. He was naturally affable and friendly, and his ingrained integrity and honesty inspired a trust among his associates seldom encountered in the present day of business. He became identified with many large movements that have played a prominent part in the development of Providence and its outlying districts, and he also held extensive interests in land located in the surrounding towns and villages. Through his energy, perseverance and native ability in his chosen work he rose gradually to an enviable position in the world of business. He took a great interest in the town affairs and civic management of Apponaug, though he had not the time at his disposal he would have wished to devote to it. He was the Independent party candidate for the office of town treasurer for the fall of 1916, but was defeated by the Republican candidate.

Mr. Gilbert died at his home in Apponaug, March 20, 1917, at the age of sixty-four years.

IX. *Arthur Henry Arnold*, son of Joseph Franklin (2) and Louise (Constance) Arnold, was born at New Orleans, Louisiana,

September 8, 1855. In 1861 he was brought to Warwick by his parents, who were obliged to flee from the South with the outbreak of the Civil War, and there he attended the public schools. He made further preparation in the select school of Mrs. Graves, the Quakeress, then entered East Greenwich Seminary under the then principal Rev. James T. Edwards. At an early age he became associated with his father in business in Providence, but in 1869, after a tour of western and southern cities, he was prevailed upon to remain in New Orleans, the city of his birth. From 1869 until 1872 he was connected with the New Orleans & St. Louis Steamboat Company. In the same year he came north and entered the employ of the Boston & Providence Railroad Company, advancing through all intermediate grades to that of passenger conductor. In 1880 he was made conductor of the Dedham & Boston Express, and when the new station at Dedham, Massachusetts, was completed, he had the distinction of running the first train out of the new structure. With the passing of the road to the Old Colony Railroad Company, Mr. Arnold was transferred to the main line, and was conductor of the Colonial Express on its first trip under the new management. Later he was conductor of a train running between Providence, Rhode Island, and Plymouth, Massachusetts. In 1910 he retired from the railroad, and devoted the remaining three years of his life to the real estate business.

Mr. Arnold possessed musical talent of a high order, and while in the South placed himself under capable instructors and thoroughly trained his fine baritone voice in form, shade, expression and sentiment. Under Signor Brignoli, the Italian composer and opera tenor, he perfected the cultivation of his voice after returning East, and often held positions in concert and choir work. He was strongly urged to go upon the operatic stage professionally, but he could not be induced to do so, although he often appeared as a baritone soloist in concerts, and added greatly to the success of such entertainments.

Genial, affable, and social by nature, he was yet very strict in the performance of duty. He was thoroughly fitted for his work, found it congenial to his tastes, and gave to it the best of his abilities, becoming a favorite with the traveling public, and was highly



Caroline F. Waterman Arnold

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esteemed by the railroad management. He was a popular member of the Masonic order, belonging to Mt. Vernon Lodge, No. 4, Free and Accepted Masons; Providence Chapter, No. 1, Royal Arch Masons; Providence Council, No. 1, Royal and Select Masters; St. John's Commandery, No. 1, Knights Templar; Rhode Island Consistory, thirty-second degree, Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite; Palestine Temple, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. He was a member of the Conductors' Relief of Boston; vice-president of the Conductors' and Engineers' Investment Company; member of the Rhode Island Society, Sons of the American Revolution, through the service of his great-grandfather, Captain Joseph Arnold; member of the Rhode Island Chapter, Society of Colonial Wars, through the service of his ancestor, Stephen Arnold, of the second American generation.

Arthur Henry Arnold died at his handsome residence, No. 572 Elmwood avenue, Providence, April 24, 1913.

He was thrice married. Issue by first wife: 1. Louise, married James S. Kenyon, of Providence. He married (second) Cora Etta Barnes, born November 2, 1869, died July 2, 1906. Married (third) March 2, 1908, Caroline Frances Waterman, daughter of John Olney and Susan Johnson (Bosworth) Waterman, of Warren, Rhode Island. (See Waterman VIII, and Bosworth VII).

Mrs. Arnold continues her residence in Providence, is active in all good works, noted for her charity and benevolence, her gracious hospitality and womanly graces. She is a member of the Rhode Island Historical Society; Gaspee Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, through the services of her maternal great-grandfather, Peleg Bosworth; Rhode Island Society of Colonial Dames of America; Rhode Island Society of Colonial Governors; Rhode Island Society of Mayflower Descendants, eligible to all these societies through her distinguished maternal and paternal ancestry.

(The Waterman Line.)

Arms—Or a buck's head caboused gules.

One of the earliest and most famous names in the colonial history of Rhode Island is that of Waterman. Few families of the early

Colony or of the State have attained to the place of prominence in its affairs which the Watermans have held from the very founding of Providence Plantations. Colonel Richard Waterman, founder of the family in America, was one of the thirteen original proprietors of Providence, and one of the leading figures in its affairs until the time of his death. The Watermans to the present day have relinquished none of the prestige and influence in official and in social life which pleased their ancestors of two hundred and fifty years ago in the foremost rank of English colonists.

I. *Colonel Richard Waterman*, immigrant ancestor and founder of the Waterman family of New England, was a passenger to America in the fleet with Higginson in the year 1629, having been sent as an expert hunter by the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, although tradition brought forward at various times has stated that he came in the same ship with Roger Williams, with whom he later joined his fortunes. Richard Waterman settled in Salem, Massachusetts, where he became a member of the church. He soon fell into disrepute in the Salem settlement because of his sympathy with the views of Roger Williams, and in March, 1638, followed Roger Williams to Providence, having been banished from Salem. In Providence in the same year he was the twelfth among those to whom were granted equal shares of the land that Williams received from Canonicus and Miantonomi. After a period of years he joined with Randall Holden, Samuel Gorton, and others, in the purchase of a large tract on the western shore of Narragansett Bay from Miantonomi. Here was commenced the settlement of Shawmut, which afterward became known as Warwick. Richard Waterman did not remove thither, however, but remained in Providence. He endured with the other purchasers of that property the losses and persecutions which fell upon the small colony through the unjust claims of Massachusetts to the district. In 1643 the Massachusetts authorities sent a squad of soldiers to arrest the leaders of the colony, and carried them prisoners to Boston, where many of them were imprisoned for several months. Richard Waterman suffered the confiscation of part of his estate by order of the court in October, 1643, and was bound over to appear at the May term

following. His companions barely escaped the death sentence, while the sentence pronounced against Waterman at the General Court was as follows: "Being found erroneous, heretical and obstinate, it was agreed that he should be detained prisoner till the Quarter Court in the seventh month, unless five of the magistrates do find cause to send him away; which, if they do, it is ordered that he shall not return within this jurisdiction upon pain of death." After his release, however, he took an important part in securing justice for the Warwick settlers. The long controversy was eventually settled by a decision of the English authorities in favor of the rightful owners who had purchased the land from Miantonomi. Waterman held possession of his valuable property in Providence and in old Warwick, bequeathing it to his heirs, whose descendants have been numerous and prominent and influential in Rhode Island affairs to the present day. He was a prominent church officer, a colonel of the militia, and a man of great force and fine ability in large affairs. In 1639 he was one of the twelve original members of the first Baptist church in America. Richard Waterman died in 1673. A monument to his memory has been erected by some of his descendants on the old family burying ground on the corner of Benefit and Waterman streets, Providence. His wife Bethia, of whose family no trace has been found, died December 3, 1680.

II. *Resolved Waterman*, son of Colonel Richard and Bethia Waterman, was born in 1638. He only lived to attain the age of thirty-two years, but he had risen to the distinction of deputy to the General Court in 1667, being then twenty-nine, and gave great promise of a life of usefulness and honor. He died in 1670. Resolved Waterman married, in 1659, Mercy Williams, who was born in Providence, Rhode Island, July 15, 1640, the daughter of Roger Williams. Mercy Williams Waterman married (second) January 8, 1677, Samuel Winsor, and died in 1707.

III. *Ensign Resolved (2) Waterman*, son of Resolved (1) and Mercy (Williams) Waterman, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, in the year 1667, and in 1689 settled in what is now the town of Greenville, Rhode Island. He served as ensign of militia for

ARNOLD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

many years, and in 1715 represented the town in the General Assembly. He died January 13, 1719. Ensign Resolved Waterman married (first) Anne Harris, born November 12, 1673, daughter of Andrew Harris, and granddaughter of William Harris, the founder of the family in America.

IV. *Colonel Resolved (3) Waterman*, son of Ensign Resolved (2) and Anne (Harris) Waterman, was born in the town of Smithfield, Rhode Island, March 12, 1703. He built the Greenville Tavern in 1733, and was a man of importance who in the records is dignified with the title of Esquire. He represented Smithfield in the General Assembly in May and June, 1739, and in May and October, 1740, and in May and October, 1741. He died July 15, 1746. He married, September 20, 1722, Lydia Mathewson, daughter of John and Deliverance (Malavery) Mathewson, who was born in Providence, June 7, 1701.

V. *Captain John Waterman*, son of Colonel Resolved (3) and Lydia (Mathewson) Waterman, was born in 1728. He became a ship owner and sea captain, sailing his own ships to China and other foreign countries. He was known as "Paper Mill John," from the fact that he built one of the first paper mills in America. He was an early and extensive manufacturer not only of paper, but operated a fulling mill, a woolen cloth finishing mill, and a chocolate factory. In 1769 he engaged in printing and publishing. His enterprises brought him great gain, and he was rated among the wealthiest men in the State, part of his wealth consisting of slaves. His property and personal estate was inherited by his only son, his daughters receiving only their wedding outfits. He died February 7, 1777. Captain John Waterman married, January 17, 1750, Mary Olney, who was born in 1731, died September 5, 1763, daughter of Captain Jonathan and Elizabeth (Smith) Olney, her father the founder of Olneyville, Rhode Island, her mother a daughter of Christopher Smith. Mrs. Waterman was a granddaughter of James and Hallelujah (Brown) Olney, and a descendant of Chad Brown.

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VI. *John Olney Waterman*, son of Captain John and Mary (Olney) Waterman, was born May 28, 1758. He inherited and spent his father's large estate in his short life of thirty-eight years. He became a member of St. John's Lodge, No. 1, Free and Accepted Masons, in 1779, as soon as he was eligible (twenty-one years), his name being the ninety-third to be enrolled a member of this body, which is the oldest lodge in Rhode Island. He died February 18, 1796. John Olney Waterman married Sally Franklin, who was born in February, 1762, a woman of strong character, a great beauty and belle. She was the daughter of Captain Asa and Sarah (Paine) Franklin, and was related to the Benjamin Franklin family. Captain Asa Franklin was ensign of the First Light Infantry of Providence county; ensign in June, 1769, of the Second Company, Providence Militia; ensign, May, 1770; ensign in August, 1774, of Providence County Light Infantry; lieutenant in May, 1789; September, 1790; May, 1791, June, 1792; May, 1793, rendering a military service long and honorable. Mrs. Sally Franklin Waterman, widowed at the age of thirty-four years, married (second) Edward Searle, of Scituate, Rhode Island. She spent the last twelve years of her life with her son, John Waterman, and died June 5, 1842; aged eighty years.

VII. *John Waterman*, son of John Olney and Sally (Franklin) Waterman, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, March 22, 1786, and lived to the great age of ninety-three years. He was educated in the public schools, and then began to learn the carpenter's trade. After a few months he entered the employ of his uncle, Henry P. Franklin, a cotton manufacturer, and finding the milling industry greatly in accordance with his tastes and ambitions, he remained and became an expert not only in cotton mill management but in the building of machinery for the mill. In 1808, in partnership with Daniel Wilde, he contracted with Richard Wheatley to operate his cotton mill at Canton, Massachusetts. In connection with the mill was a machine shop equipped for repairing and rebuilding machinery, which was an important adjunct in the business during the three years the partnership existed. For a time thereafter, Mr. Waterman continued alone in the manufacture of machinery, but in

1812, in association with his uncle, Henry P. Franklin, he built and put in operation the Merino Mill in Johnston, Rhode Island. This mill, with a capacity of fifteen hundred spindles, was run for seven years with Mr. Franklin as financial head, Mr. Waterman acting as manufacturing agent. In 1819 Mr. Waterman leased the Union Mills, in which he had first learned the business. He suffered considerable loss in the operation of the Merino Mill, and to finance the Union Mill purchase and outfitting he borrowed \$20,000 of Pitcher & Gay, of Pawtucket. Four years later, so profitable had the venture been, that after paying Pitcher & Gay he had a handsome balance to his credit.

For the next three years he was resident agent for the Blackstone Manufacturing Company, but health failing, he resigned and went south, although there he acted as purchasing agent for the Blackstone Mills and also as salesman. For ten years he remained in the south, located at New Orleans, acting as cotton broker for northern mills, associated part of that period with Thomas M. Burgess, of Providence. In 1829 he returned to Providence, and that year built the Eagle Mills at Olneyville, Rhode Island. Mill No. 1 began operations in the spring of 1830, and in 1836 Mill No. 2 was completed, Mr. Waterman continuing their operation until his retirement in 1848.

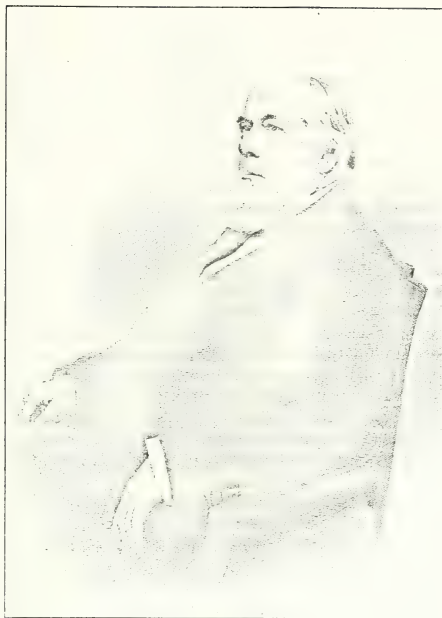
Mr. Waterman was initiated in St. John's Lodge, No. 1, Free and Accepted Masons, May 1, 1822, and raised to the degree of Master Mason the following November. He became a companion of Providence Chapter, No. 1, Royal Arch Masons, February 27, 1823; a cryptic Mason of Providence Council, Royal and Select Masters, No. 1, January 29, 1824; and a Sir Knight of St. John's Commandery, No. 1, Knights Templar, February 7, 1825. He was in sympathy with the Baptist church, although not a member, and it was largely through his generosity that the Baptist church in Olneyville was built.

John Waterman died at his home in Johnston, Rhode Island, to which he had retired after leaving the business world, October 26, 1879.

He married, in Canton, Massachusetts, in 1809, Sally Williams, who was born March 1, 1787, and died suddenly, April 10, 1862,

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daughter of Stephen Williams, and a lineal descendant of Roger Williams.

VIII. *John Olney (2) Waterman*, son of John and Sally (Williams) Waterman, was born in Canton, Massachusetts, November 4, 1810. In infancy he was brought to Johnston, Rhode Island, and all his life was a true and loyal son of Rhode Island in all but birth. He was educated in the public schools and Plainfield (Connecticut) Academy, early beginning work in the cotton mills. He was clerk in the store operated by the Merino Mills in 1827-28-29, leaving in the last year to become agent for the Eagle Mills, owned by his father, at Olneyville. He continued in that capacity until 1847, when he was engaged to build and operate the first cotton mill in the town of Warren, Rhode Island, for the Warren Manufacturing Company. From that time until the present, the name of Waterman has been connected with successful cotton manufacturing in Warren. From the completion of the first mill, Mr. Waterman maintained official relation with the Warren Manufacturing Company as treasurer and agent, devoting thirty-three years of his life to its affairs, seeing the single mill of 1847 grow to three large mills equipped with 58,000 spindles and 1,400 looms, weaving sheetings, print cloths, and jacanets. The second mill was built in 1860 from the profits of the first, and the third in 1870 from the profits of the first and second mills, the company later increasing its capital stock to \$600,000.

Mr. Waterman during his Providence residence served as a member of the Board of Independent Fire Wards. In 1845 he was elected to the Rhode Island Legislature from Providence, and re-elected in 1846, serving with honor. In 1848 he moved his residence to Warren, Rhode Island, and there his great business ability, his conservative managerial talents and his sagacious financing, made him a leader. In 1855 he was elected a director of the Fireman's Mutual Insurance Company of Providence; in 1860 a director of the newly organized Equitable Fire and Marine Insurance Company; in 1868 a director of the Blackstone Mutual Fire Insurance Company, organized that year; and in 1874 of the newly formed Merchants' Mutual Fire Insurance Company, holding these

ARNOLD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

directorships until his death. He was equally prominent in Warren's banking circles; in July, 1855, he aided in organizing Sowamset State Bank, and was chosen a director; also was made a director of the First National Bank of Warren upon its organization in 1864, and was elected vice-president in 1866, serving in that office until his death; was one of the founders of the Warren Institution for Savings, and in 1870 was chosen a trustee; in 1875 was elected a director of the Old National Bank of Providence, and later and until his death was its honored president. He was identified with other interests and institutions, among them the Providence Board of Trade. He was the friend of every deserving person or enterprise, and freely gave them his aid. In fact "he represented that class of men whose untiring industry, superior natural gifts and strict integrity place them at the head of the great manufacturing interests for which Rhode Island is justly celebrated."

John Olney Waterman died at his home in Warren, April 24, 1881, all business in the town being suspended on the day of his funeral, in respect to his memory.

He married (first) in 1838, Caroline Frances Sanford, who died in 1840, daughter of Joseph C. Sanford, of Wickford, Rhode Island. He married (second) June 26, 1849, Susan Johnson Bosworth, born March 22, 1828, died in Warren, March 16, 1897, daughter of Colonel Smith Bosworth, of Rehoboth and Providence, and his wife, Sarah Tripp. Mrs. Waterman is buried with her husband in Swan Point Cemetery, Providence. (See Bosworth VIII). The children of John Olney and Susan Johnson (Bosworth) Waterman were:

1. Caroline Frances Waterman, who was born in Warren, Rhode Island, July 9, 1850; she married, March 2, 1908, Arthur Henry Arnold, of Providence, who died April 24, 1913. (See Arnold IX).

2. John Waterman, born in Warren, January 11, 1852. He was educated in a private school in Warren until thirteen years of age, then spent six years in Warren High School, leaving at the age of nineteen years to enter the business world in which his forefathers had won such high reputation and such sterling success. He inherited their strong business traits, and although but forty-eight years were allotted him, he bore worthily the name and upheld the family reputation. Upon the death of his honored father in 1881, he succeeded him as treasurer of the Warren Manufacturing Company,

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and at the time of his death was a director of three of Warren's four banks and connected with banks and insurance companies of Providence. In 1895 the three mills of the Warren Manufacturing Company were destroyed by fire, and from the ruins arose one magnificent mill with the capacity of the former three, a splendid monument to the Watermans, father and son, to whom the wonderful success of the company was due. For many years John Waterman emulated the example of his sire in the interest he took in the George Hail Free Library, and all public affairs of Warren. He was a member of the building committee in charge of the erection of the town hall, and at the time of his death chairman of a committee for increasing school facilities. He was for many years colonel of the Warren Artillery, and was past master of Washington Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons. From boyhood he had been an attendant of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, of which he was confirmed a member; had been a member of the church choir, had served as an officer of the Sunday School for thirty-one years, for twenty-four years was a vestryman, and for eleven years junior warden. He personally superintended the improvement and enlargement of St. Mark's Chapel, a movement he inaugurated and generously supported. He possessed the Waterman energy; vacations were almost unknown to him; and although the possessor of great wealth he was one of the most democratic of men. Kindly and genial in nature, he mingled freely with all classes, preserved the strictest integrity in his dealings with all, and in all his enterprises exhibited remarkable persistency and tenacity of purpose, laboring faithfully and unceasingly. John Waterman married, December 17, 1884, Sarah Franklin Adams, who survived him, and married (second) April 4, 1904, Rev. Joseph Hutcheson, of Columbus, Ohio. John Waterman died at his home in Warren, Rhode Island, December 21, 1900.

(The Bosworth Line.)

Arms—Gules a cross vair between four annulets argent.

Crest—A lily proper, slipped and leaved.

The name of Bosworth appears in the very early days of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Zacheus or Zachariah Bosworth was of Boston in 1630, probably having come over in the fleet with Winthrop. Benjamin Bosworth was of Hingham, in 1635. John Bosworth was of Hull, where he was admitted a freeman in 1634. Han-aniel Bosworth was a citizen of Ipswich in 1648. Edward Bosworth,

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the founder of the line herein under consideration, may not truly be called a colonial settler, for he died before reaching the shores of New England. His sons and widow, however, settled in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. From these Bosworths and still others came the Bosworths of today in New England. The Bosworths of Rehoboth have been a particularly noted branch of the family from the early decades of the seventeenth century.

I. *Edward Bosworth*, the first of the direct line of whom we have definite information, embarked for New England with his wife Mary in the ship "Elizabeth and Dorcas," in 1634. He died at sea, however, as the vessel was nearing the port of Boston, and his remains were interred in Boston. His widow and children next appear on the records of the town of Hingham, Massachusetts, in the following year, 1635. The Widow Mary Bosworth died in Hingham, May 18, 1648.

II. *Jonathan Bosworth*, son of Edward and Mary Bosworth, was born in England, about 1611, and accompanied his parents to America, in 1634. He settled in Hingham, where he married. Among his children was Jonathan, mentioned below.

III. *Jcnathan (2) Bosworth*, son of Jonathan (1) Bosworth, was born in Hingham, Massachusetts, where he resided all his life. He married Hannah Howland, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Tilley) Howland, both of whom were of the "Mayflower" company in 1620. Among the children of Jonathan (2), and Hannah (Howland) Bosworth, was Jonathan, mentioned below.

IV. *Jonathan (3) Bosworth*, son of Jonathan (2) and Hannah (Howland) Bosworth, was born September 22, 1680. He married Sarah Rounds, and they were the parents of four children.

V. *Ichabod Bosworth*, son of Jonathan (3) and Sarah (Rounds) Bosworth, was born May 31, 1706, in the town of Swansea, Massachusetts. He married (first) January 12, 1726-27, Mary Brown, and they were the parents of four children. He married (second)

in Warren, Rhode Island, November 19, 1748, Bethia Wood, of Swansea, Massachusetts, and they were the parents of Peleg Bosworth, mentioned below. Ichabod Bosworth was a prosperous farmer and well known citizen of Swansea.

VI. *Peleg Bosworth*, son of Ichabod and Bethia (Wood) Bosworth, was born May 6, 1754, in Swansea, Massachusetts. He was a soldier in the Revolution, serving as a private in Captain Stephen Bullock's company, Colonel Carpenter's regiment, marching to Bristol, Rhode Island, on the alarm of December 8, 1776, serving twelve days to December 20, 1776; also in Captain Israel Hick's company, Colonel John Daggett's regiment, marched January 5, 1778, discharged March 31, 1778, serving two months twenty-seven days in Rhode Island; also in Lieutenant James Horton's company, Colonel Thomas Carpenter's regiment, enlisted August 2, 1780, discharged August 7, 1780, serving six days on an alarm, marched to Tiverton, Rhode Island. ("Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution," vol. 2, page 382). Peleg Bosworth married, September 1, 1774, Mary (Polly) Smith, who was born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, in August, 1749, and died in 1818.

VII. *Colonel Smith Bosworth*, son of Peleg and Mary (Polly) (Smith) Bosworth, was born in the town of Rehoboth, Massachusetts, October 28, 1781. After a limited period of schooling he began the active business of life by completing in Providence, Rhode Island, an apprenticeship at the mason's trade. From a journeyman he advanced to contracting, and in partnership with Asa Bosworth erected many of the beautiful homes on the east side of the river in Providence, also a number of the city's churches and public buildings. Bosworth & Bosworth were the contractors for St. John's Episcopal Church on North Main street, Providence, and the Beneficent Congregational Church on Broad street, and in 1814 built the mills of the Providence Dyeing, Bleaching and Calendering Company on Sabin street. Two years later, on March 16, 1816, Colonel Bosworth accepted an appointment as agent for the company, and for nineteen years filled that responsible post efficiently and ably. In 1835 he resigned, but until 1841 continued in

ARNOLD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

the company's service as superintendent or general outside manager. His connection with that company brought him wide acquaintance and reputation among the business men of the city, and under his able management the company experienced great prosperity, becoming one of the largest establishments of its nature in the United States.

Long before Providence became a city, Colonel Bosworth was active in public affairs and held many town offices. After its incorporation as a city he was a member of the Board of Fire Wards, chief engineer of the Fire Department, and street commissioner. His military title was gained through his service in the Rhode Island State militia, in which he held the rank of colonel for many years. He directed the erection of the earthworks on Fox Point in 1812, and during the Dorr War was captain of the City Guards of Providence. He was a life member of St. John's Lodge, No. 1, Free and Accepted Masons, of Providence, and late in life became a member of Beneficent Congregational Church, in which faith and connection he died. He was most generous in his benefactions, kindness and a keen sense of justice characterizing markedly all his actions. He lived in the love and good will of his fellow citizens, and was highly esteemed as a man of honor and integrity.

Colonel Bosworth married, January 31, 1805, Sarah Tripp, born October 6, 1785, died November 13, 1860, at Warren, Rhode Island, daughter of Othniel and Sarah Tripp, of Swansea, Massachusetts. Mrs. Bosworth was buried in North Graveyard, Providence.

Colonel Smith Bosworth died at his home in Providence, Rhode Island, March 9, 1857, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

VIII. *Susan Johnson Bosworth*, daughter of Colonel Smith and Sarah (Tripp) Bosworth, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, March 22, 1828, and died March 16, 1897. She married, June 26, 1849, John Olney Waterman, of Providence, Rhode Island. (See Waterman VIII).

The Sherman Family



THE surname Sherman had its origin in Germany, where today we find it spelled Schurman, Schearman, Scherman and Shearman. It is of the occupative class, and was anciently derived from the occupation of early progenitors who were dressers, or shearers of cloth. The English family was a prominent one, and probably settled originally in the County of Suffolk, whence they removed to Essex in the fifteenth century. The name is found in England as early as 1420.

The following are heraldic descriptions of various branches of the Sherman family arms:

Device granted to Thomas Sherman, of the Shermans of Yaxley, County Suffolk, England, under Henry VII:

Arms—Or, a lion, rampant, sable, between three oak leaves vert.

Crest—A sea lion, sejant, sable, charged on the shoulder with three bezants, two and one.

Motto—*Mortem vince virtute.*

Arms of the London Shermans, descendants of the Yaxley house:

Arms—Same as above, with an annulet for difference.

Crest—A sea lion, sejant, per pale, or and argent, guttee-de-poix, finned, of the first, gold, on the shoulder a crescent for difference.

Arms of the Ipswich branch, descendants of the brother of Thomas Sherman:

Arms—Azure a pelican or, vulning her breast proper.

Crest—A sea lion, sejant, per pale, or and argent, guttee-de-poix, finned gold.

Among notable members of the family in America, are the following named:

John Sherman, (1823-1900), American financier and statesman.

THE SHERMAN FAMILY

Younger brother of General William Tecumseh Sherman, and of the Lancaster (Ohio) family; Representative and Senator from Ohio; Secretary of the Treasury in 1877, and Secretary of State under President McKinley.

Charles R. Sherman, father of General William Tecumseh Sherman and of John Sherman; judge of the Supreme Court of the State of Ohio.

Roger Sherman, (1721-1793), American political leader, and signer of the Declaration of Independence; of the Newton (Massachusetts) family, but later made New Haven his home; Judge of the Connecticut Superior Court; treasurer of Yale College; delegate to the Continental Congress in 1774-81 and 1783-84; Representative, 1789-91; Senator, 1791-93; on the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence, and also on that which drafted the Articles of Confederation.

General Thomas West Sherman, Federal officer in the Civil War.

William Tecumseh Sherman, (1820-1891), American general; of the Lancaster (Ohio) family. Descended from Edmond Sherman, who emigrated from England to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1634. General William T. Sherman fought the Seminole Indians in Florida; served through the Mexican War with great credit, and became famous during the Civil War, when he made the historical "March to the Sea" from Atlanta to Savannah with sixty thousand picked men.

The lineage of the Suffolk family of England which produced the progenitor of the American branch, is as follows:

I. Thomas Sherman, Gentleman, born about 1420; resided at Diss and Yaxley, England; he died in 1493. He married Agnes ———, and they were the parents of John, mentioned below.

II. John Sherman, son of Thomas and Agnes Sherman, gentleman, of Yaxley, was born about 1450, and died in November, 1504. He married Agnes, daughter of Thomas Fullen, and they were the parents of Thomas (2).

III. Thomas (2) Sherman, son of John and Agnes (Fullen) Sherman, was born about 1480, and died in November, 1551. He resided, as did his father, at Diss, on the river Waveney, between Norfolk-shire and Suffolk-shire. His will mentions property including the manors of Royden and Roydentuft at Royden and Bessingham,

THE SHERMAN FAMILY

besides the estates in Norfolkshire and Suffolkshire. We have the record of his wife (probably not his first), who was Jane, daughter of John Waller, of Wortham, in Suffolkshire.

IV. Henry Sherman, son of Thomas (2) and Jane (Waller) Sherman, was born about 1530, in Yaxley, England, and is mentioned in his father's will. His first wife, Agnes (Butler) Sherman, was buried October 14, 1580, and he married (second) Margery Wilson, a widow.

V. Henry (2) Sherman, son of Henry (1) and Agnes (Butler) Sherman, was born about 1555, in Colchester, England, but made his home in Dedham, Essex; he married Susan Hills, and died in 1610. His will, made August 21, 1610, was proved September 8th of the same year. Six of the sons mentioned below were living at the time of their father's death: 1. Henry, born in 1571, died in 1642. 2. Samuel, mentioned below. 3. Susan, born in 1575. 4. Edmond, or Edward, born about 1577. 5. Nathaniel, born in 1580. 6. John, born August 17, 1585. 7. Elizabeth, born about 1587. 8. Ezekiel, born July 25, 1589. 9. Mary, born July 27, 1592. 10. Daniel, born ———, died in 1634. 11. Anne, married Thomas Wilson. 12. Phebe, married Simeon Fenn.

VI. Samuel Sherman, son of Henry (2) and Susan (Hills) Sherman, was born in 1573, and died in Dedham, County Essex, England, in 1615. He married Philippa Ward.

I. Philip Sherman, immigrant ancestor, and progenitor of the American family, was born at Dedham, County Essex, England, February 5, 1610, son of Samuel and Philippa (Ward) Sherman. He came to America when twenty-three years of age, and settled in the town of Roxbury, Massachusetts, in the year 1633. On May 14th of the following year he was made a freeman of the colony, his name standing next on the list after that of Governor Haynes. In 1635 he returned to England for a short time, but again took up residence in Roxbury two years later. On November 20, 1637, he and others were warned to give up all arms because "the opinions

THE SHERMAN FAMILY

and revelations of Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson have seduced and led into dangerous errors many of the people here in New England." The church record says that he was brought over to "Familism" by Porter, his wife's stepfather. In 1636 he was one of the purchasers of the Island of Aquidneck, now Rhode Island, and on the formation of a government in 1639 became secretary under Governor William Coddington. In 1637 he with eighteen others signed the following compact: "We whose names are underwritten do here solemnly in the presence of Jehovah incorporate ourselves into a Bodie Politick, and as he shall help will submit our persons, lives and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and to all those perfect and most absolute laws of his given us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby." In 1638 he removed to Portsmouth, Rhode Island, where there is record of him as early as May 13th of that year. The Massachusetts authorities evidently believed that he was still under their jurisdiction, for on March 12, 1638, though he had summons to appear at the next court, "if they had not yet gone to answer such things as shall be objected," he did not answer the summons, and continued to occupy a prominent place in Rhode Island affairs.

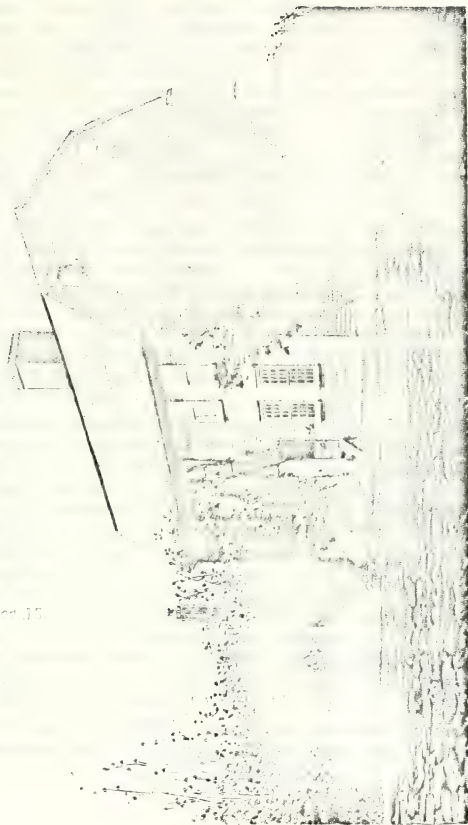
Philip Sherman was one of the most conspicuous figures in early affairs in the colony, and played a large part in public life. He was general recorder of the colony in the years 1648-49-50-51, and in 1665-1667 served as deputy to the General Court of Rhode Island. On April 4, 1676, he was one of the sixteen men of good judgment and ability chosen to assist and advise the Council in regard to the conduct of the Narragansett campaign. After his removal to Rhode Island, he left the Congregational church, of which he had been a member, and united with the Society of Friends. Tradition affirms that he was "a devout but determined man." Early records kept by him in his official capacities, still extant, show him to have been a very neat and expert penman, as well as a man of broad and liberal education.

Philip Sherman married Sarah Odding, stepdaughter of John Porter, of Roxbury, and his wife Margaret, who was a widow Odding at the time of her marriage to Porter. Children: 1. Eber,

Robert J. J.

1860

1860



SHERMAN HOMESTEAD

THE SHERMAN FAMILY

born in 1634, lived in Kingstown, Rhode Island, died in 1706. 2. Sarah, born in 1636; married Thomas Mumford. 3. Peleg, born in 1638; died in 1719, in Kingstown. 4. Mary, born in 1639, died young. 5. Edmond, lived in Portsmouth and Dartmouth, died in 1719. 6. Samson, mentioned below. 7. William, born in 1643, died young. 8. John, born in 1644; a farmer and blacksmith, in what is now South Dartmouth; died April 16, 1734. 9. Mary, born in 1645; married Samuel Wilbur. 10. Hannah, born in 1647; married William Chase. 11. Samuel, born in 1648; lived in Portsmouth, died October 9, 1717. 12. Benjamin, born in 1650, lived in Portsmouth. 13. Philip, born October 1, 1652; married Benjamin Chase.

II. Samson Sherman, son of Philip and Sarah (Odding) Sherman, was born in the town of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, in 1642, and passed his entire life there, a prominent and respected citizen. He married, March 4, 1675, Isabel Tripp, born in 1651, daughter of John and Mary (Paine) Tripp. She died in 1716. Children: 1. Philip, born January 16, 1676. 2. Sarah, born September 24, 1677. 3. Alice, born January 12, 1680. 4. Samson, born January 28, 1682. 5. Abiel, born October 15, 1684. 6. Isabel, born in 1686. 7. Job, mentioned below.

III. Job Sherman, son of Samson and Isabel (Tripp) Sherman, was born in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, November 8, 1687, and died there November 16, 1747. He married (first) December 23, 1714, Bridget Gardiner, of Kingstown, Rhode Island, and (second) in 1732, Amie Spencer, of East Greenwich, Rhode Island. Children of the first marriage: 1. Philip, born December 12, 1715. 2. Israel, born October 31, 1717. 3. Mary, born January 16, 1719. 4. Job, born May 2, 1722. 5. Bridget, born May 7, 1724. 6. Sarah, born October 29, 1726. 7. Alice, born April 25, 1728. 8. Mary, born October 13, 1730. Children of the second marriage: 9. Amie, born May 27, 1734. 10. Benjamin, born September 14, 1735. 11. Samson, mentioned below. 12. Martha, born November 28, 1738. 13. Walter, born August 20, 1740. 14. Dorcas, born November 2, 1742. 15. Abigail, born September 10, 1744.

IV. Samson (2) Sherman, son of Job and Amie (Spencer) Sherman, was born in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, July 23, 1737. He

THE SHERMAN FAMILY

spent his entire life in his native place engaged extensively in farming. He married, December 9, 1761, Ruth, daughter of David and Jemima (Tallman) Fish, of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, and they were the parents of the following children: 1. Walter, born April 4, 1763; married Rebecca Anthony, of Portsmouth. 2. Amy, born January 6, 1764; married Daniel Anthony, of Portsmouth. 3. Job, born January 21, 1766; married Alice Anthony. 4. Susanna, born October 19, 1767, married Peleg Almy, of Portsmouth. 5. Anne, born November 19, 1770, married Nathan Chase, of Portsmouth. 6. David, born June, 1772, married Waite Sherman, of Portsmouth. 7. Ruth, born October 21, 1773; died in infancy. 8. Ruth, born February 20, 1778, married Obadiah David, of New Bedford, Massachusetts. 9. Asa, mentioned below. 10. Abigail, born April 2, 1782; married Abram Davis, of Fair Haven, Massachusetts. 11. Mary, born November 18, 1783; married David Shove, of Berkley, Massachusetts.

V. Asa Sherman, son of Samson (2) and Ruth (Fish) Sherman, was born December 22, 1779, in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, and died at Fall River, Massachusetts, December 29, 1863. He was a birth-right member of the Society of Friends, and was an extensive land owner and farmer in Portsmouth. He was buried in the old Friends' Cemetery at Portsmouth. Asa Sherman married, at the Friends' Meeting in Portsmouth, November 11, 1805, Elizabeth Mitchell, born October 17, 1782, in Middletown, Rhode Island, daughter of Richard and Joanna (Lawton) Mitchell (see Mitchell III). Their children were: 1. Ruth, born November 21, 1806. 2. Joanna, born July 30, 1808, died at Fall River. 3. Sarah, born February 20, 1810; married, November 30, 1829, Abner Slade, of Swansea, Massachusetts. 4. Amy, born September 16, 1811; married, October 21, 1839, Mark Anthony, of Taunton, Massachusetts. 5. Richard Mitchell, born September 16, 1813. 6. Mary, mentioned below. 7. Asa, born December 23, 1817. 8. Daniel, born June 25, 1820. 9. William, born April 9, 1823. 10. Annie, born July 17, 1826, died at Fall River, January 15, 1849.

VI. Mary Sherman, daughter of Asa and Elizabeth (Mitchell) Sherman, was born September 16, 1815, at Portsmouth, Rhode Island. She married, October 5, 1842, Hon. William L. Slade, of

the year.



Elizabeth Mitchell Sherman

THE SHERMAN FAMILY

Somerset, Massachusetts. (See Slade VII). They were the parents of Caroline Elizabeth Slade, mentioned below.

VII. Caroline Elizabeth Slade, daughter of Hon. William Lawton and Mary (Sherman) Slade, was born at Somerset, Massachusetts, January 3, 1846. She married, March 25, 1868, Hezekiah Anthony Brayton, of Fall River, Massachusetts. (See Brayton VII).

(The Chase Line.)

The surname Chase is of ancient French origin, and had its origin in the French verb, *chasser*, to hunt. In the intermingling of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French tongues, the word chase was adopted with its original meaning, and later came to be applied to that part of a forest of park termed the chase, an open piece of ground for the herding of deer and other game. Residents near these large deer enclosures, of which every knight or noble had at least one under the feudal regime, adopted the name Chase as a surname when the custom spread to the middle classes. Chase families had before this date, however, wielded large power among the landed gentry and nobility. The ancestral seat of the American branch of the ancient England family was at Chesham, Buckinghamshire, through which passes the river Chess. Several immigrants of the name were in the New England Colonies in the first half of the seventeenth century. Their progeny is large and prominent, and is today found in every part of the United States. One of the most notable descendants of the early Chase family was the Hon. Salmon Portland Chase, Secretary of the Treasury under President Lincoln, and successor of Judge Roger B. Taney as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

I. William Chase, immigrant ancestor, and founder of the line herein under consideration, was born in England, and came to America in 1630 in company with John Winthrop. Thomas and Aquila Chase, who settled at Hampton, New Hampshire, in 1639, were brothers, and are thought by many authorities to have been cousins of William Chase, the first comer. The record of Rev. John Eliot, the Indian Apostle, of "such as adjoined themselves to this church," the first church of Roxbury, has this entry: "William Chase, he came with the first company, bringing with him his wife Mary and his son William." "He later had a daughter whom

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they named Mary, born about the middle of 3rd month, 1637, after which date he removed to Scituate, but went with a company who made a new plantation at Yarmouth." On October 19, 1630, William Chase applied for admission as a freeman at Roxbury, where he subsequently became a town officer. In 1634 he was made a freeman at Boston. In 1639 he was constable at Yarmouth, Massachusetts, whither he had removed the year previous, and where he died. His will, proved May 13, 1659, was dated May 4 of that year, and the court ordered Robert Dennis to divide the estate as he ordered. His son Benjamin received two parts of three, and William, the eldest son, received the third part. In October, 1659, his widow Mary was found dead, and a coroner's inquest decided that she died a natural death. In 1645 William Chase served against the Narragansett Indians. In 1643 his name, as well as that of his son, appears on the list of males able to bear arms, between the ages of sixteen and sixty. In 1645 he was a drummer in Myles Standish's company that went to the banks opposite Providence. Children of William and Mary Chase: 1. William, born in England, mentioned below. 2. Mary, born in March, 1637; died October 28, 1652. 3. Benjamin, born in 1640.

II. William (2) Chase, son of William (1) and Mary Chase, was born in England, about 1623, and accompanied his parents to America in 1630, at the age of about seven years. In 1638 he removed with his father's family to Yarmouth, where he resided during his entire life, and where he died on February 27, 1685. Children: 1. William, married (first) Hannah Sherman; (second) December 6, 1732, Priscilla Perry. 2. Jacob, married Mary ———. 3. John, married, in 1674, Elizabeth Baker. 4. Elizabeth, married, May 27, 1674, Daniel Baker. 5. Abraham, married Elizabeth ———. 6. Joseph, married, February 28, 1684, Sarah Sherman. 7. Benjamin, married, September 21, 1696, Amy Borden. 8. Samuel, mentioned below.

III. Samuel Chase, son of William (2) Chase, was born in Yarmouth, Massachusetts, and married, in 1699, Sarah Sherman, daughter of Samuel and Martha (Tripp) Sherman. He was a prosperous farmer, and respected citizen of Yarmouth. Children: 1. Phebe, mentioned below. 2. Martha, born February 24, 1702; married

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(first) June 5, 1722, Ezekiel Fowler; (second) May 11, 1749, Samuel Bowen. 3. Susanna, born April 7, 1704; married July 5, 1726, William Buffinton. 4. Elisha, born May 5, 1706; married (first) October 20, 1726, Elizabeth Wheaton; (second) January 16, 1746, Sarah Tucker. 5. Samuel, born January 20, 1710; married August 13, 1730, Abigail Buffum. 6. Eleazer, born April 27, 1711; married, May 26, 1730, Ruth Perry. 7. Philip, born August 20, 1715; married Hannah Buffum. 8. John, born December 8, 1720; married, January 18, 1744, Lydia Luther. 9. Sarah, married Daniel Baker.

IV. Phebe Chase, daughter of Samuel and Sarah (Sherman) Chase, was born in Yarmouth, Massachusetts, January 22, 1700. She married, December 6, 1720, Edward Slade, son of William the founder and Sarah (Holmes) Slade. (See Slade II).

(The Buffum Line.)

I. Robert Buffum, immigrant ancestor and progenitor of a family which has been continuous and prominent in New England for more than two hundred and seventy years, was born in Yorkshire or Devonshire, England, and was in Salem, in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, as early as 1638. He was a yeoman, and to some extent a trader. All the family except Robert Buffum, through sympathy with the Quakers who were being persecuted, became Quakers themselves. On one occasion Deborah Buffum, youngest daughter of the founder, through great religious fervor and excitement, removed nearly all of her clothing and marched through the streets of Salem, proclaiming that she was bearing testimony against the nakedness of the world. She was later tried and condemned to walk through the streets of Salem, in the same manner, at the "tail end" of a cart, accompanied by her mother.

Robert Buffum was a husbandman by principal occupation, and the trade he carried on was the sale of garden seeds, which was continued by his widow after his death. She, Tamosin Buffum, was appointed to administer the estate, which was inventoried at more than £270. He made a will disposing of his worldly estate in manner prescribed by law, but when it was offered for probate the subscribing witnesses, being Friends, would only affirm, and not swear.

"on the book," hence the instrument was refused probate by the court. Robert Buffum died in 1669, and his wife, who was born in 1606, died in 1688. They were the parents of the following children: 1. Joshua, born in 1635; on account of sympathy with the Quakers he was banished from the colony, and returning to England laid his case before the King, who ordered the Salem authorities to take him back, and it is a fact worthy of note that the first Quaker meeting held in New England was later held at his house; he married Demaris Pope. 2. Lydia, born in 1644; married (first) John Hill; (second) George Locker. 3. Margaret, married John Smith. 4. Sarah, married William Beane. 5. Mary, born in 1648; married Jeremiah Beale. 6. Caleb, mentioned below. 7. Deborah, married Robert Wilson.

II. Caleb Buffum, son of Robert and Tamosin Buffum, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, July 29, 1650, and died in 1731. He and his brother Joshua were executors of their mother's will, which was proved June 19, 1688. Under the will, Caleb received "2 acres of meadow and a great pewter basin." He married, March 26, 1672, Hannah Pope, who was born about 1648, daughter of Joseph and Gertrude Pope. Their children were: 1. Caleb, born May 14, 1673. 2. Robert, born December 1, 1675. 3. Jonathan, born about 1677, mentioned below. 5. Benjamin. 6. Hannah. 7. Tamosin.

III. Jonathan Buffum, son of Caleb and Hannah (Pope) Buffum, was born about 1677. He married Mercy ———, and they were the parents of several children, among whom the following are recorded: 1. Jonathan, born December 8, 1713; died young. 2. Deborah, born February 1, 1716-17. 3. Jonathan, born September 16, 1719. 4. Mercy, mentioned below. There were probably others, but no record of them can be found.

IV. Mercy Buffum, daughter of Jonathan and Mercy Buffum, was born July 23, 1723, at Salem, Massachusetts, and died November 18, 1797, in Swansea, Massachusetts. She married Samuel Slade. (See Slade III).

NOTE.—References in foregoing will be found in former or future numbers of "Americana."

The Howland Family



THE original, highly ornamented, water color painting of the Howland escutcheon from which copies of the arms used in this country have been made, is said to have been brought to America shortly after the arrival of the "Mayflower." In 1865 this painting was in the possession of Rev. T. Howland White, of Shelbourne, Nova Scotia, a grandson of Gideon White, whose wife was Joanna, daughter of John Howland, son of the Pilgrim. The arms bear the following inscription:

He beareth sable, two bars argent, on a chief of the second three lions rampant of the first, and for his crest on a wreath of his colors a lion passant sable, ducally gorged or. By the name of Howland.

The original Howlands in America were Arthur, Henry and John. The last named was of the "Mayflower" number, and is the progenitor of the line herein under consideration. The progeny of these three Howlands is a large and prominent one in New England, and from the earliest years of the struggle of Plymouth Colony for a foothold in the New World has played an important part in our life and affairs.

I. Humphrey Howland, the first of the line of whom we have definite information, was the father of the American immigrants, and was a citizen and draper of London. His will, proved July 10, 1646, bequeathed to sons: George, of St. Dunstan's in the East, London; Arthur, Henry and John. The last three were to receive under his will, dated May 28, 1646, £8 4s. 4d. out of the debt "due the testator (Humphrey) by Mr. Buck, of Salem, Massachusetts." Annie Howland, widow of Humphrey Howland, was executrix of the estate. She was buried at Barking, County Essex, England, December 20, 1653. The sons Arthur, Henry and John, were in Scrooby, England, and were members of the band of Puritans who left England because of religious intolerance and sought freedom in Amsterdam, Holland, where they remained a year, subsequently removing to Leyden, whence they emigrated to the New World.

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II. John Howland, son of Humphrey and Annie Howland, held to the original faith of the Puritans, and was an officer of Rev. John Cotton's church, and a staunch adherent of the orthodox faith until his death, while Arthur and Henry were Quakers. John Howland's was the thirteenth name on the list of forty-one signers of the "Compact" in the cabin of the "Mayflower," in "Cape Cod Harbor," November 21, 1620. At this time he was twenty-eight years of age, and according to Prince was a member of Governor Carver's family. How this came about is not known, but it is probable that Carver saw elements in his character which led him to supply young Howland's wants for the journey to America, and to cause him to be considered one of the family. That he possessed sound judgment and business capacity is shown by the active duties which he assumed, and the trust which was reposed in him in all the early labors of establishing a settlement. While the "Mayflower" was yet in Cape Cod Harbor, ten of "her principal" men were "sente out" in a boat manned by eight sailors, to select a place for landing; among them was John Howland. A storm drove them into Plymouth Harbor and Plymouth was selected as the place of settlement.

The first mention of John Howland in the old Plymouth Colony records is on a list of freemen; and in an enumeration of the members of the Governor's Council of seven, of which he is the third. In 1633 or 1634 he was an assessor; was selectman of Plymouth in 1666, and was chosen deputy of the same town, in 1652-56-58-61-62-66-67-70. He was elected to public office for the last time on June 2, 1670, at which time he was nearly eighty years of age. Besides these public positions of honor and trust, he was very often selected to lay out and appraise land, to run highways, to settle disputes, and to serve on committees of every description. He was not only full of zeal for the temporal welfare of the colony, but gave powerful encouragement to a high standard of morals and religion, so much so that he is recorded as "a godly man and an ancient professor in the ways of Christ." It is shown that he was active in Christian work, for Governor Bradford notes that he became "a profitable member both in Church and Commonwealth," and it appears that at the ordination of John Cotton, Jr., in 1667, John

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Howland "was appointed by the church to join in the imposition of hands." He lived at what was called Rocky Nook, where he died February 23, 1672-73.

John Howland married Elizabeth Tilley, daughter of John Tilley, and ward of Governor Carver, into whose family she was taken at the death of her father, when she was about fourteen years of age. She died December 21, 1687, aged eighty years, in Swanzey, Massachusetts, at the home of her daughter, Lydia Brown, and was the last but three of the "Mayflower" passengers to die. Their children were: 1. Desire, born October 13, 1623, in Barnstable; married, in 1643, Captain John Gorham. 2. John, born in Plymouth, February 24, 1627. 3. *Jabez*, mentioned on following page. 4. Hope, born August 30, 1629; died January 8, 1684; married, in 1646, John Chipman. 5. Elizabeth, married (first) September 13, 1649, Ephraim Hicks, of Plymouth, who died December 2, 1649; married (second) July 10, 1651, John Dickarson, of Plymouth. 6. Lydia, married James Brown, and settled in Swanzey. 7. Ruth, married, November 17, 1664, Thomas Cushman. 8. Hannah, married, July 6, 1661, Jonathan Bosworth. 9. Joseph, died in January, 1704. 10. Isaac, born November 16, 1649; died March 9, 1724; married Elizabeth Vaughn, born in 1652; died October 29, 1727.

III. Jabez Howland, son of John and Elizabeth (Tilley) Howland, was born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1628. He resided in Plymouth during the early part of his life, and took an active part in public life, holding various civil offices. He served as a lieutenant under Captain Benjamin Church in King Philip's War, and proved his bravery under a test made by Church for that purpose. He was a blacksmith and cooper, doing a very large business in both these trades, which were of large importance in early colonial days. He removed to Bristol, Rhode Island, where he settled, and conducted a blacksmith establishment. His residence was on Hope street, where he kept a hotel. Jabez Howland was first town clerk of Bristol, and subsequently became prominent in the affairs of the town. He was selectman, assessor, and deputy to the General Court. He was active in the construction of the First Congregational Church of Bristol. His will, dated July 14, 1708, was proved

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April 21, 1712, and disposed of an estate valued at £600. He was one of the most influential citizens of early Bristol, highly esteemed.

He married Bethiah Thatcher, daughter of Anthony Thatcher, and granddaughter of Anthony Thatcher, who came from Sarum, England, with his second wife, Elizabeth Jones, in the ship "James," in April, 1635. The vessel was wrecked off Cape Ann, August 16 of that year, and he was made administrator of the estate of Joseph Avery, one of the victims of the disaster. The General Court gave to Anthony Thatcher the island on which the vessel was wrecked. He was a tailor by trade, and settled first in Marblehead, whence he removed to Yarmouth, on Cape Cod, and gave allegiance to the Plymouth Colony, January 7, 1639. He was deputy to the General Court, a magistrate, and was licensed to marry persons.

Thatcher Arms.—Gules a cross moline argent; on a chief or three grasshoppers proper.

Crest—A Saxon sword or seax proper.

Children of Jabez and Bethiah (Thatcher) Howland: 1. Jabez, born November 15, 1670. 2. John, born March 15, 1673. 3. Bethiah, born August 6, 1674. 4. Josiah, born October 6, 1676. 5. John, born September 26, 1679. Recorded in Bristol, Rhode Island: 6. Judah, born May 7, 1683. 7. Seth, born January 5, 1684-85. 8. *Samuel*, mentioned on following page. 9. Experience, born May 19, 1687. 10. Joseph, born October 14, 1692.

IV. Samuel Howland, son of Jabez and Bethiah (Thatcher) Howland, was born in Bristol, Rhode Island, May 16, 1686. He married, May 6, 1708, Abigail Cary, born August 31, 1684, daughter of John and Abigail (Allen) Cary; she died August 16, 1737. Samuel Howland was a lifelong resident of Bristol, prominent in its affairs, and the owner of considerable property. Children: 1. Samuel, born April 3, 1709. 2. Abigail, born October 18, 1710. 3. John, born September 27, 1713. 4. Tabitha, born November 13, 1715. 5. Seth, born July 9, 1719. 6. Mary, mentioned on a following page. 7. Phebe, born September 9, 1721; married John Wardwell.

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Cary Arms.—Argent, on a bend sable three roses of the first, seeded or, barbed vert, a border of the second bezantee.

Crest.—A swan, wings elevated proper.

Motto.—*Virtute excerptae* (Conspicuous for virtue).

Abigail Allen, mother of Abigail (Cary) Howland, was the daughter of Samuel Allen, who came from Bridgewater, England, with his wife Anne, and settled in Braintree, Massachusetts. The wife died in 1641, and he married (second) Margaret Lamb, who was the mother of Abigail Allen, wife of John Cary. John Cary, ancestor of Abigail (Cary) Howland, was born about 1610, and resided near Bristol, Somersetshire, England, whence he came about 1634 to America, and settled in Duxbury, Massachusetts, where he had a farm. He was one of the proprietors of Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and one of its first settlers, locating in what is now West Bridgewater, one-quarter of a mile east of the present town house. Bridgewater was incorporated as a town in 1656, and John Cary was its first town clerk, filling that office for several years. He married, in 1644, Elizabeth, daughter of Francis and Elizabeth Godfrey. His eldest child, John (2) Cary, was born November 4, 1645, in Duxbury, Massachusetts, resided in Bridgewater until 1680, when he removed to Bristol, Rhode Island, and died there July 14, 1721, his estate valued at £700. The deed of his first land in Bristol was dated September 14, 1680, and he was present at the first town meeting of that town, prominent in town affairs, and deacon of the church from its organization until his death. He was one of the first "raters" or assessors, secretary of the county, clerk of the peace, and representative in the General Assembly in 1694. He married in Bridgewater, December 7, 1670, Abigail, daughter of Samuel Allen and his second wife, Margaret Lamb, who at the time of her marriage to Samuel Allen was a widow, maiden name French. His second daughter became the wife of Samuel Howland, as previously noted.

V. Mary Howland, daughter of Samuel and Abigail (Cary) Howland, was born in Bristol, Rhode Island, March 18, 1720. She married, September 26, 1742, William (2) Wardwell, of Bristol, descend-

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ant in the fourth American generation of William Wardwell, founder of the line in New England. (See Wardwell IV).

(The Tilley Line.)

Tilley Arms.—Argent a wivern with wings endorsed sable, charged on the breast with an annulet or.

Crest.—The head of a battle-ax issuing from the wreath.

As early as the Norman Conquest, the surname Tilley is found in England, and appears in the "Domesday Book." The name was common also in France and Holland at an early date, and is doubtless of Norman-French origin, as Lower states that there is a village of Tilly in the Department of Calvados, in Normany. The name is spelled in ancient records Tillie, Tilly, Teley, Tiley, Tilee and Tely. We have at the present time the surname Tylee, probably of the same stock.

Edward and John Tilley were among the passengers of the "Mayflower." Edward and his wife Ann both died in the spring of 1620-21. John brought his wife and daughter Elizabeth, and he and his wife also died early in 1621. The only descendants of these Pilgrim Tilleys are through Elizabeth Tilley, who became the wife of John Howland. No person can claim descent through these ancestors in the male line. There was another John Tilley in Dorchester who came in 1628; died without issue. William Tilley, of Barnstable and Boston, came from Little Minories, England, in the ship "Abigail," in June, 1636, left a daughter Sarah, but no sons. Others of the name came later.

I. John Tilley, immigrant ancestor, came to the American colonies in December, 1620, a passenger, with his wife and daughter Elizabeth, in the ship "Mayflower." Both John Tilley and his wife died early in 1621.

II. Elizabeth Tilley, daughter of John Tilley, was born in England, and accompanied her parents to New England. After the death of her parents she became the ward of Governor John Carver, when she was about fourteen years of age. She married John

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Howland, who was also a passenger on the "Mayflower." Elizabeth (Tilley) Howland died December 21, 1687, aged eighty years. (See Howland II).

NOTE.—References in foregoing will be found in former or future numbers of "Americana."



Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

No. XI

HALIFAX AND THE NEW YORK TORIES

"To go or not to go, that is the question;
Whether 'tis best to trust the inclement sky
That scowls indignant, or the dreary Bay
Of Fundy and Cape Sable's rocks and shoals,
And seek our new domain in Scotia's wilds,
Barren and bare, or stay among the rebels,
And by our stay rouse up their keenest rage."

The Tory's Soliloquy (printed in the New Jersey Journal).



THE great migration of Loyalists to Nova Scotia as a result of the Revolution, of which the flight of the Boston Tories thither with Howe's fleet is the picturesque prelude, occurred, as is well known, in the years 1782 and 1783, especially the latter year. That by far the larger number of these later refugees from the other Colonies landed either at Port Roseway, Digby, or the mouth of the St. John river is of course true, but that Halifax more or less permanently received a share of them is equally true. In an interesting sketch of Governor Parr, in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, the late Mr. James Macdonald says:¹ "Parr was sworn in Governor in October, 1782, and peace with the new Republic was arranged on the 30th of November, 1782. In December following, many ships with a large number of Loyalists and troops that had fought on the British side arrived from New York, and the Governor's work began. Every week brought its quota to swell the already over-

1. "Memoir of Governor John Parr," by James S. Macdonald, in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. 14, pp. 41-78. In quoting at length from Mr. Macdonald we always have to revise his rhetoric. In this quotation we give his exact statements, but some changes in the English have been absolutely necessary and have been made.

populated town. The feeding of such a multitude was a most difficult task, and the flour mills at Sackville were kept at work night and day to provide bread. Parr worked steadily and methodically, as he had done all his life, and being a seasoned veteran was able, it is said, to work at times twenty out of the twenty-four hours of the day at the task of arranging for the subsistence of such a host. The greatest problem was to have them housed before the severity of winter came. The troops came by shiploads, and the vivid experience of Halifax at the declaration of war was repeated. Every shed, outhouse, and store was crowded with people. Thousands were under canvas on the Citadel and at Point Pleasant, everywhere indeed where tents could be pitched. St. Paul's and St. Matthew's churches were crowded, and hundreds were sheltered there for months. Caboozes and cook-houses were brought ashore from the ships, and the people were fed near them on Granville and Hollis streets. People suffered all the miseries of unsanitary conditions in an overcrowded town, and there were many deaths among the strangers. For months the greater number of these ten thousand refugees were fed on the streets, among the people being many who had been reared in luxury."

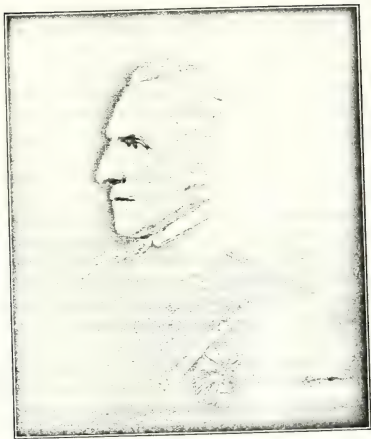
Whether it is true that as many as ten thousand Loyalists, including troops that had fought on the British side, were for a longer or shorter period located in Halifax or not, we do not know, but the Tory migration at this time to the province generally had so direct and lasting an influence on the capital town that it becomes necessary to devote a chapter exclusively to it here.

In the colony of New York, which unlike Massachusetts was a Royal or Crown Colony, a large proportion of the people, particularly of Westchester County, Queen's County (Long Island),² and Staten Island, were sympathetic with the British cause, and when the issue of the war became clearly unfavorable for the British, and finally when peace was declared, these champions of loyalty to the

2. Of Queen's County, Long Island, Judge Jones in his "History of New York during the Revolution" says: "Nearly a third of the whole inhabitants have since the late peace and the recognition of American independence, preferred the inhospitable wilds of Nova Scotia rather than live in a country governed by the iron and oppressive hand of rebellion, though settled, planted, and improved by their ancestors nearly a century and a half ago."

mother country saw that nothing was left them but to emigrate. From the summer of 1776, when the battle of Long Island put New York in the hands of General Howe, for seven years this town was the headquarters of British rule in America. Under the protection of the forces garrisoned there, therefore, many of the most influential citizens of New York, as of other colonies besides New York, put themselves, and this was especially true when the act of attainder, passed by the New York legislature on the 22d of October, 1779, proscribed nearly sixty prominent citizens, "for the crime of adhering to the enemies of the State," declared their estates, real and personal, confiscated, and proclaimed that each and every of them who should at any time thereafter be found in any part of the State should be and were adjudged and declared guilty of felony, and should suffer death as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy.

Thrust from all places of public influence, robbed of their property, insulted by mobs, declared felons by the newly constituted authorities, and as we have seen, even threatened with death, they soon looked toward Nova Scotia, where six or seven years before their Boston fellow sufferers had gone, as a suitable place of refuge. In February, 1782, the new English ministry recalled Sir Henry Clinton from his command of the American forces, and in his place appointed Sir Guy Carleton, who arrived in New York and took command the following April. In November of the same year, provisional articles of peace were signed at Paris and then the necessity for the removal of the Loyalists became urgent. Sir Guy accordingly began a correspondence with the governor of Nova Scotia with reference to their settlement in this province, and the Loyalists themselves appointed agents to whom they entrusted the most important matters connected with their proposed emigration. These agents were Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Thompson of Massachusetts, better known as Count Rumford; Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Winslow, Jr., of Massachusetts, Muster-Master-General of the Loyalist forces employed under the Crown; Major Joshua Upham, of Brookfield, Massachusetts, a graduate of Harvard of the class of 1763; the Rev. John Sayre, who at the beginning of the war was Rector of Trinity Church, Fairfield, Connecticut; Amos Botsford,



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of Newtown, Connecticut, a graduate of Yale, of 1763; and James Peters, of New York. It seems singular that of these seven New York agents, six should have been New England men, and only one a native New Yorker.

The first emigration of New York people to Nova Scotia took place soon after the signing of the provisional articles at Paris. About two months before this, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, received a letter from Sir Guy Carleton, in which the latter announced that more than six hundred persons wished to embark for Nova Scotia before winter, and a much larger number the next spring, but that he could not find shipping just then for more than three hundred. He recommends for these intending emigrants that a grant of five or six hundred acres shall be given each family, and three hundred acres apiece to single men, and that two thousand acres for a glebe and a thousand acres for a school shall be set apart in each township, no fees or quit-rents, whatever, to be exacted for these lands. He also recommends that the "Refugees" be given materials and the assistance of workmen for their necessary building. About this time Sir Guy was waited on by the Rev. Dr. Seabury, then of Westchester, and Col. Benjamin Thompson, of the King's American Dragoons, on behalf of the Loyalists desiring to go to Nova Scotia. The result of the conference was a promise from the Commander-in-Chief that they should be provided with proper vessels to carry them and their horses and cattle as near as possible to the place in which they intended to settle; that besides food for the voyage, one year's provisions or the equivalent in money should be allowed them; that warm clothing in proportion to the wants of each family, and medicines, should be furnished them; that pairs of mill stones, iron work for grist mills and saw mills, nails, spikes, hoes, axes, spades, shovels, plough-irons, and such other farming utensils as should appear necessary, and also window glass, should be given them; that tracts of land, free from disputed titles and conveniently situated, large enough to afford from three to six hundred acres to each family, to be surveyed and divided at public cost, should be guaranteed; that in every township, "over and above" two thousand acres should be allowed for the support of a clergyman and one

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thousand acres for the support of a school, and that these lands should be inalienable forever. Finally, that a sufficient number of good muskets and cannon, with a proper quantity of ammunition, should be allowed, to enable the people to defend themselves against any hostile invasion.

On the nineteenth of October, five hundred Loyalists from New York arrived at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia,³ bringing with them at least one member of the committee appointed in New York to look after their affairs, a man who founded one of the leading New Brunswick families, Mr. Amos Botsford. The London *Political Magazine* in 1783 says: "When the Loyal Refugees from the northern Provinces were informed of the resolution of the House of Commons against offensive war with the rebels, they instantly saw there were no hopes left them of regaining their ancient settlements or of settling down again in their native country. Most of them, therefore, who had been forward in taking up arms and in fighting the battles of the mother country, finding themselves deserted, began to look out for a place of refuge, and Nova Scotia being the nearest place to their old plantations, they determined on settling in that province. Accordingly, to the number of five hundred, they embarked for Annapolis Royal: they had arms and ammunition, and one year's provisions, and were put under the care and convoy of H. M. S. *Amphitrite*, of twenty-four guns, Captain Robert Briggs. This officer behaved to them with great attention, humanity, and generosity, and saw them safely landed and settled in the barracks at Annapolis, which the Loyalists soon repaired. There were plenty of wild fowl in the country, and at that time (which was last fall) a goose sold for two shillings and a turkey for two and sixpence. The Captain was at two hundred pounds expense out of his own pocket, in order to render the passage and arrival of the unfortunate Loyalists in some degree comfortable to them."

Before Captain Briggs sailed from Annapolis the grateful Loyalists waited on him with the following address:

"To Robert Briggs, Esqr., Commander of H. M. S. *Amphitrite*:
The loyal refugees who have emigrated from New York to settle in

3. Murdoch's *History of Nova Scotia*, vol. 3, says three hundred.

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Nova Scotia beg your acceptance of their warmest thanks for the kind and unremitted attention you have paid to their preservation and safe conduct at all times during their passage. Driven from our respective dwellings for our loyalty to our King, after enduring innumerable hardships and seeking a settlement in a land unknown to us, our distresses were sensibly relieved during an uncomfortable passage by your humanity, ever attentive to our preservation.

"Be pleased to accept of our most grateful acknowledgments so justly due to you and the officers under your command, and be assured we shall remember your kindness with the most grateful sensibility.

"We are, with the warmest wishes for your health and happiness and a prosperous voyage,

"With the greatest respect, Your most obedient humble servants,
"In behalf of the refugees.

"AMOS BOTSFORD,
TH. WARD,
FRED. HAUSER,
SAM. CUMMINGS,
ELIJAH WILLIAMS."

"Annapolis Royal, the 20th of October, 1782."

On the fourteenth of January, 1783, Amos Botsford and his fellow explorers wrote from Annapolis to their friends in New York, describing the country. After giving the most favorable account of the region from Annapolis to St. Mary's Bay, they say: "We proceeded to St. John's river, where we arrived the latter end of November, it being too late to pass in boats, and the water not being sufficiently frozen to bear. In this situation we left the river, and (for a straight course) steered by a compass through the woods, encamping out several nights in the course, and went as far as the Oromocto, about seventy miles up the river, where there is a block-

4. Of the persons whose names are signed to this address, Amos Botsford was from Newtown, Conn. (See Sabine's *Loyalists*); Frederick Hauser, of whose origin we know nothing, was a surveyor, and with Amos Botsford and Samuel Cummings explored St. Mary's Bay and the lower part of the St. John river (see the *Winslow Papers*, edited by Archdeacon Raymond, pp. 77, 211); Samuel Cummings was from New Hampshire, and with his wife and two children (at Annapolis Royal) was proscribed in 1782 (see Sabine's *Loyalists*, vol. 2, p. 502); Elijah Williams, a son of Major Elijah Williams of Deerfield, Mass., before coming to Nova Scotia had been practising law at Keene, N. H. (See "The Genealogy and History of the Family of Williams . . . Descendants of Robert Williams of Roxbury," published at Greenfield, Mass., in 1847). He returned later to Mass. and died at Deerfield in 1793.

house, a British post. The St. John's is a fine river, equal in magnitude to the Connecticut or Hudson. At the mouth of the river is a fine harbour, accessible at all seasons of the year—never frozen or obstructed by the ice, which breaks in passing over the falls; here stands Fort Howe, two leagues north of Annapolis Gut." "The interval lies on the river, and is a most fertile soil, annually manured by the overflowings of the river, and produces crops of all kinds with little labour, and vegetables in the greatest perfection. The up-lands produce wheat both of the summer and winter kinds, as well as Indian corn. Some of our people chuse Conway [now Digby], others give the preference to St. John. Our people who came with us are settled here for the winter; some at the fort, some in the town, and others extend up the Annapolis river near twenty miles, having made terms with the inhabitants;—some are doing well, others are living on their provisions; their behaviour is as orderly and regular as we could expect."

These five hundred New York Loyalists were speedily followed by five hundred and one refugees from the Carolinas, who fled from Charleston when that city was evacuated. In a dispatch to the Right Hon. Thomas Johnston, the minister in England, Governor Parr of Nova Scotia says: "I have the honor to inform you that with the arrival here of the heavy ordnance from Charleston in South Carolina, came five hundred and one refugees, men, women, and children, in consequence of directions from Sir Guy Carleton to Lieutenant-General Leslie, who has sent them to the care of Major-General Patterson, commander of the troops in this province, with whom I have concurred as far as in my power to afford them a reception."

In January, 1783, the governor notified the English minister of future arrivals, but it was in the spring of that year that the great emigration of New York Tories to Nova Scotia began. In April, two separate fleets left for the Acadian Province by the Sea. The first, which sailed from New York, April 26th, comprised sixteen square rigged ships and several schooners and sloops protected by two ships of war, and carried four hundred and seventy-one families, under command of Colonel Beverly Robinson, its destination

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being Port Razoir, or Roseway, afterwards Shelburne, near the south-western end of Nova Scotia.

On the fourth of May these people reached Port Roseway and were met by three surveyors from Halifax, with whose aid they at once began to lay out a city which they had projected before leaving New York.⁵ Their plan made provision for five main parallel streets, sixty feet wide, to be intersected by others at right angles, each square to contain sixteen lots, sixty feet in width and one hundred and twenty feet in depth. At each end of the town a large space was left for a common, and when the refugees came, these reservations the engineers with the assistance of the fatigue parties rapidly cleared, so that tents could be erected for the temporary shelter of the people. July eleventh, the town was divided into north and south, the streets were named, and the lots were numbered, every settler being given fifty acres on each side the harbour, and a town and water lot besides.

The other fleet, which sailed from New York on the twenty-seventh of April, 1783, comprised twenty vessels, on board of which were three thousand people, men, women, and children. The names of the vessels were: the *Camel*, Captain Tinker; the *Union*, Captain Wilson; the *Aurora*, Captain Jackson; the *Hope*, Captain Peacock; the *Otter*, Captain Burns; the *Spencer*; the *Emmett*, Captain Reed; the *Thames*; the *Spring*, Captain Cadish; the *Bridgewater*; the *Favorite*, Captain Ellis; the *Ann*, Captain Clark; the *Commerce*, Captain Strong; the *William*; the *Lord Townshend*, Captain Hogg; the *Sovereign*, Captain Stuart; the *Sally*, Captain Bell; the *Cyrus*; the *Britain*; and the *King George*. The destination of this fleet was the River St. John, at the mouth of which, a little distance apart, stood the two old forts, La Tour, then called Fort Frederick, and the less historical Fort Howe. On the eighteenth of May the vessels came to anchor in the harbour of St. John, the Loyalists for the most part landing at Lower Cove, near the old Sydney Market House.⁶

5. *The Church of England in Nova Scotia*, Dr. A. W. H. Eaton, pp. 135, 6.

6. May 12, 1783, Sir Guy Carleton writes General Washington: "An embarkation was in much forwardness previous to the official information of peace. . . . This fleet sailed about the 27th of April for different parts of Nova Scotia, and including the

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The people of the first fleet are said to have come to their determination to settle at Shelburne, through advice given them by Captain Gideon White, a native of Plymouth, Massachusetts, in which place he was born March 28, 1752. This young man, who was a great grandson of Peregrine White, of Plymouth, and father of the late venerable Rev. Thomas Howland White, D. D., of Shelburne, at the outbreak of the war made his escape from Plymouth to avoid being either drafted into the American army or thrown into prison, and starting for Nova Scotia on a trading voyage visited various places along the south shore of the province. At Barrington he was captured by an American armed vessel, commanded by a Captain Sampson, and then was carried back to Plymouth and thrown into prison, where he found his father. Within a day or two he was taken out and hanged by the waist to the village "liberty pole," but Captain Sampson, hearing of the outrage, landed with a party of his men and rescued the prisoner from his uncomfortable, if not dangerous, position. In the list of persons who went to Halifax with General Howe's fleet, Gideon White's name is found, and it is probable that he returned with the fleet to New York and there gave information regarding the Nova Scotia sea-board to the Loyalist leaders, who acting on his advice finally determined to found a city at Port Razoir.

That St. John should have been chosen by the Tories as the site of another town is not strange, for the broad, navigable St. John river, lined with fertile marshes, had long attracted traders from New England, and on both sides of it, awaiting settlement, lay an immense tract of country as fertile as the peninsula of Nova Scotia itself, and even greater in extent.

On the 6th of June Governor Parr informs the Secretary of State that since January 15th upwards of seven thousand refugees have arrived in the province, and these, he says, are to be followed by three thousand of the provincial forces, and by others besides.

troops carried seven thousand persons with all their effects; also some artillery and public stores."

May 22d, Adjutant General Oliver De Lancey orders, that "the Refugees and all the Masters of Vessels will be attentive that no Person is permitted to embark as a Refugee who has not resided Twelve Months within the British Lines, without a special Passport from the Commandant. It is also recommended to the Refugees to take Care no Person of bad Character is suffered to embark with them."

July 6th, he writes that a considerable number of Loyalists had petitioned for land in the island of Cape Breton, and the governor, who had had instructions to grant no land in that island, asks his Majesty's pleasure in the matter. In a letter to Lord North, of the 30th of September, Governor Parr states that from November, 1782, to the end of July, 1783, upwards of thirteen thousand had arrived at Annapolis, Halifax, Port Roseway, St. John River, and Cumberland, and that since July, many more had landed at these places and at Passamaquoddy, so that the total number in the province then was probably not less than eighteen thousand. He had visited Port Roseway as soon as he could after the arrival of the settlers there, and had found upwards of five thousand persons, to which number many more, he expected, would soon be added.⁷

In September many vessels left New York for Nova Scotia, carrying in all some eight thousand refugees. One of these was the ship *Martha*, which had on board a corps of the Maryland Loyalists, and a detachment of De Lancey's 2d Regiment, in all a hundred and seventy-four persons. This vessel was wrecked on a ledge of rocks between Cape Sable and the Tusquets, and ninety-nine perished, seventy-five being saved by fishing boats and carried to St. John, where they had intended settling. Between the end of September and the twenty-first of October, two thousand Loyalists arrived, and at some time in the latter month what is known as the "Fall Fleet" reached St. John, bringing twelve hundred more. Others coming in single vessels, before and at the final evacuation of New York, which occurred November 25, 1783, it is estimated that not less than five thousand spent the winter of 1783-84 on the site of the city of St. John. August thirteenth of the latter year, Governor Parr writes Lord North that grants for four thousand, eight hundred and eighty-two families had passed the great seal of the

7. In a letter from an officer belonging to H. M. Ship *Duc de Chartres*, dated Nova Scotia, October 12, 1783, the writer says: "The great emigration of Loyalists from New York to this province is almost incredible, they have made many new settlements in the Bay of Fundy. . . . Numbers of families are also gone to Halifax, but the majority are fixed at Port Roseway, where they have erected a large city, which contains nine thousand inhabitants, exclusive of Black Town, containing about twelve hundred free Blacks, who have served during the war." Quoted in the "Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York" for 1870.

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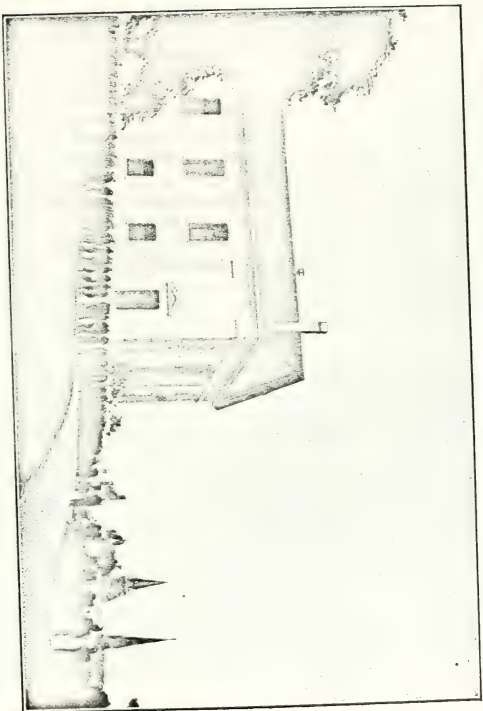
province, and that others were preparing for a hundred and fifty more. The number of persons already located, he thinks, amounts to nearly thirty thousand.

The whole number of Loyalists who left the revolting colonies, first and last, cannot have been less than a hundred thousand souls, Judge Jones thinks that Sir Guy Carleton must have assisted that many to leave New York alone. Mr. De Lancey says: "They came to New York to embark for almost all parts of the world, England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, the Bermudas, the Bahamas, Florida, Jamaica, and the lesser West Indies." The Loyalists of the Southern colonies chiefly shipped for Florida, the Bermudas, the Bahamas, and the West Indies. Of the Tory emigrants to Upper Canada, which was then, like Nova Scotia (and New Brunswick), almost wholly unsettled, Ryerson, in his "Loyalists of America," says: "Five vessels were procured and furnished to convey this first colony of banished refugee Loyalists to Upper Canada; they sailed around the Coast of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and up the St. Lawrence to Sorel, where they arrived in October, 1783, and where they built themselves huts or shanties, and wintered. In May, 1784, they prosecuted their voyage in boats, and reached their destination, Cataraqui, afterwards Kingston, in July." Other bands of Loyalists made their way to Canada by land, the most common route being by Albany.

Many of the Loyalists who had come to Nova Scotia were so destitute that in May, 1783, an order for a muster was issued by Governor Parr, so that their needs might be fully known. This muster occupied a little over two months, from May twentieth to July twenty-seventh, and the report finally made by Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Morse, who had the direction of it,⁸ covers the following nearly thirty settlements: Annapolis Royal and vicinity, Antigonish, Bear River, Chedabucto, Chester Road, Cornwallis and Horton, Country Harbour, Cumberland and vicinity, Dartmouth,

8. Vol. 2, p. 188.

9. "A General Description of the Province of Nova Scotia and a Report of the Present State of the Defences, with Observations leading to the further growth and Security of this Colony, done by Lieutenant-Colonel Morse, Chief Engineer in America, upon a Tour of the Province in the Autumn of the Year 1783 and the Summer of 1784."



THE GARRISON CHAPEL

This picture was taken when the Imperial troops worshipped there. The Chapel was destroyed in the recent explosion

Digby, Gulliver's Hole (St. Mary's Bay); Halifax and vicinity; about Halifax Harbour; between Halifax and Shelburne, along the coast; Jedore, Musquodoboit, Newport and Kenticook; Nine Mile River, Partridge Island, Passamaquoddy; Pictou and Merigomish; River St. John; Sheet Harbour, Shelburne, Ship Harbour, Island of St. John (Prince Edward Island), Windsor, Windsor Road, and Sackville. According to this muster the War of the Revolution had brought into Nova Scotia 28,347 persons, of whom 12,383 were men, 5,486 women, 4,671 children above the age of ten, 4,575 children under the age of ten, and 1,232 servants, chiefly, no doubt, negroes who had been and virtually still continued to be slaves. Of these people, 9,260 are reported as at River St. John, 7,923 at Shelburne, 1,830 at Annapolis Royal and vicinity, 1,787 at Passamaquoddy, 1,295 at Digby, 1,053 at Chedabucto, 856 at Cumberland and thereabouts, 651 between Halifax and Shelburne, 480 at Dartmouth, and 380 in the Island of St. John; the rest being scattered, in numbers ranging from 16 to 324, through the other places mentioned above. The name Chedabucto in Lieutenant-Colonel Morse's report is the original name of what is now Guysborough. The Indians gave the name Chedabucto to at least that part of Guysborough County which lies about the harbour or bay.¹⁰

10. The record of grants in the Crown Land Office in Halifax shows that soon after the Revolution, principally in 1784 and 1785, grants were made to persons at Advocate Harbour, Antigonish, Aylesford, Beaver Harbour, Chester, Clements, Country Harbour, Dartmouth, Digby, Green River, Guysborough, Jordan River, Maccan, Merigomish, Musquodoboit, New Manchester, Parrsborough, Port Hébert, Port Medway, Port Mouton, Port Roseway, Remsheg and Tatamagouche, River Philip, Roseway Harbour, Salmon Brook, Sable River, Shelburne, Ship Harbour, Sissibou, St. Mary's Bay, Tracadie, and Wilmot. These grants were probably not all to Loyalists but undoubtedly most of them were. Some grants probably were never taken up.

Of Colonel Morse's report, Dr. Raymond writes: "The report of Lt.-Col. Morse is in the possession of J. W. Lawrence (of St. John), and I have studied it. We must bear in mind that Col. Morse's muster was made in the summer of 1784, and is liable to be under the mark, for two reasons. First, a considerable number of the Loyalists had already removed, owing to their unfavorable impressions of the country, some to Upper Canada (see Ryerson's *Loyalists*), some to England—these chiefly of the more affluent classes, while some had returned to the United States. A second class, I have no doubt, failed to be enumerated by Col. Morse owing to the scattered settlements, established at isolated points, and to the hurried way in which the enumeration was completed. Loyalist settlements were made on the St. John river in the summer of 1783, at some eight or more points, that at Woodstock being a hundred and forty-four miles from the sea. Other settlements were made at Passamaquoddy by refugees from Penobscot and elsewhere, at various points at the head of the Bay of Fundy, along the New Brunswick shore, and at a large number of points in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. The facilities for communication were so poor at this time,

Gathered into a publication entitled "Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York" for 1870, we find many notices from sources contemporary with the migrations of the removal of Royalists from New York to Nova Scotia, Canada, Jamaica, the Bahamas, etc., but chiefly to Nova Scotia, in 1783. Under date of April 22 of that year, a Philadelphia newspaper (but what newspaper we do not know) says: "Accounts from New York mention that the last embarkation of refugees, consisting of near 5,000 souls, sailed from thence on Thursday last for Nova Scotia." A New York newspaper of April 23d says: "The number of inhabitants going to Nova Scotia in the present fleet consists of upwards of nine thousand souls, exceeding by more than one thousand the largest town in Connecticut, including the out parishes." A Philadelphia newspaper of April 29, 1783, informs its readers that "a late New York paper says that the number of souls embarked in the last fleet for Nova Scotia amounts to 9,000." "Yesterday," says a New York newspaper of May 17th, "arrived a vessel from Halifax, by which we learn that the fleet with about six thousand Refugees, which lately left this city, were safely landed at Port Roseway, after a

that the enumeration could scarcely have been carried out with exactness, and I therefore think the number returned by Col. Morse was much too small." "In addition to the Loyalist exiles from New York to Nova Scotia during the first ten months of 1783, there were arrivals at Halifax and Annapolis from Boston and other New England ports, amounting to probably at least 2,000, of whom 1,100 came at the time of the evacuation of Boston."

Dr. Raymond's judgment regarding the probable understatement of the number of Loyalists in Nova Scotia in Colonel Morse's Report is no doubt correct. The general style of Colonel Morse's report on Nova Scotia shows that he was not a very accurate observer, and in some degree weakens the value of his statistics. Nevertheless, they must be duly weighed by any one desiring properly to estimate the number of Loyalists who came to Nova Scotia at the close of the war. It seems likely, judging from other data, that the number at Halifax, Shelburne, and on the St. John River, is understated, for Colonel Morse himself admits that "a very small proportion of the people are yet on their lands." A few thousands, therefore, might be added to include those overlooked in the muster, those who had come early to Nova Scotia and had gone thence to England, Upper Canada, Newfoundland, or back to the United States, and the few Loyalists that might not put in a claim for "the Royal bounty of provisions." Having made a liberal allowance for all these, however, it is hard to believe, if Colonel Morse's muster be in any degree accurate, that the number of Loyalists was much more than thirty thousand in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. It is possible, however, that to this number two or three thousand more may be added and the limits of accurate statement not be transgressed.

Mr. Edward F. De Lancey, editor of Judge Thomas Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, says he is satisfied from a personal examination of the manuscript records in the Secretary's office at Halifax that the number of Tories, men, women, and children, who emigrated from New York to Nova Scotia, amounted to at least thirty-five thousand.

six days passage." A Chatham, New Jersey, newspaper of May 21st, says: "The British and their adherents, so habituated to perfidy, find it difficult to forego it; for in the last Nova Scotia fleet they sent off upwards of 700 negroes belonging to the good people of these states."

A New York newspaper of June 7th is quoted as saying: "Yesterday arrived the *Camel*, Captain William Tinker, in eight days from the river St. John, in the Bay of Fundy, who left the new settlers there in good health and spirits. Captain Tinker sailed in company with eight other transports for this port." A Philadelphia newspaper of June 10th," says: "We hear that another embarkation of his Britannic Majesty's most faithful and loyal subjects, the refugees, will shortly leave New York, destined for Nova Scotia. They are said to consist of about 6,000."

A New York newspaper of June 11th records: "The Schooner *Two Friends*, Captain Fisher, arrived here on Sunday last in seven days from Port Roseway. A number of transports and small vessels were preparing to sail for this port under convoy of his Majesty's Ship *Albacora*, when Captain Fisher left that port.

. . The Benevolent and Charitable of all Denominations are hereby informed that a very considerable number of People, having left their former Habitations, are now embarked for the Province of Nova Scotia. The greater part of whom, having tender Wives and little Infants, and having lost All, are left in circumstances extremely indigent; they are therefore recommended in the most earnest manner to the Public, as proper objects of charity. Note. As their Necessities are very urgent it is much to be wished that those who choose to Contribute will do it without delay." This appeal is signed by Messrs. Rogers and Murray, and William Laight, Queen Street; by David Seabury, Peter Bogart, and Rev. John Sayre, Smith Street; and by Rev. James Sayre, at Brooklyn."

A Chatham, New Jersey, newspaper, under date of June 11th, records: "From the many accounts from Westchester and the neighboring towns in the State of New York, near the British posts, the inhabitants of said towns are in the most unhappy Situation of any people under the sun. Those called the King's or loyal Refugees continue in their old practice of beating, burning, hanging,

and cutting men and women in order to extort their money and other effects; which is of late continued and put in practice with the most unheard of cruelties and barbarity that ever was known; but especially since the refugees have left Morrisania are now getting all they can to carry off with them to Nova Scarcity, where they say is nine months winter and three months cold weather in the year. They come from New York and Long Island in the night and skulk about Westchester in the day, and when night comes on again they exercise the above-recited cruelties; so that the inhabitants dare not lodge in their houses." Some of the chief offenders are then mentioned, the names given being, Henry Quail, Abraham Bonker, Archibald Purdy, Jonathan Lovebury, and Stephen Baxter.¹¹

How large a proportion of the Loyalist emigrants to Nova Scotia consisted of officers and men of the various regiments that had been in service in the other colonies on the British side, so far as we know has never been exactly estimated. In March, 1783, the commanding officers of fourteen of the thirty-one provincial regiments named by Sabine¹² in his "American Loyalists" petitioned for grants of land in the still loyal British colonies for their officers and men, asking also for pensions and half pay.¹³ A New York newspaper of August 16, 1783, is quoted¹⁴ as saying: "We are informed that the following British Regiments are intended for Nova Scotia, viz.: Seventeenth, Royal Welsh or Twenty-Third, Thirty-Third, Thirty-Seventh, Royal Highlanders or Forty-Second, Fifty-Seventh, and that all the other British Battalions are to depart for Europe." In September of this year the ship *Martha*, which was wrecked between Cape Sable and Tusket, started for St. John with a corps of the Maryland Loyalists, and a detachment of De Lancey's Second Battalion. General Oliver De Lancey's Brigade comprised three battalions, each five hundred strong, the first and second of which consisted in part of New York men, with probably a strong contingent from the Tory towns of Connecticut, such

11. An occasional newspaper notice also appears in the publication from which these extracts are copied of the foundering of some vessel carrying refugees to Nova Scotia and the drowning of all on board. Why this publication does not give the names of the newspapers from which it quotes we do not know.

12. Sabine's *American Loyalists*, vol. 1, p. 73.

13. Murdoch's *History of Nova Scotia*, vol. 3, p. 15.

14. In the "Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York" for 1870.

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as Stamford, Greenwich, Norwalk, and Fairfield.¹⁵ The third battalion was drawn entirely from Queen's County, Long Island. The anger of the patriots was naturally fierce against De Lancey's whole brigade, which, in a petition against the men being allowed to return to their homes in Stamford or Greenwich, was designated as that "most infamous banditti known as De Lancey's corps." At the close of the war this brigade was disbanded in Nova Scotia. The third battalion, commanded by Captain Ludlow, arrived at St. John in October, 1783, and it is probable that the second battalion also spent the next winter at St. John, for Captain Jacob Smith, Sergeant Thomas Fowler, Corporal Richard Rogers, and others of this battalion drew adjoining city lots on the south side of Britain Street, near Wentworth Street,¹⁶ in the New Brunswick town. The following year, October 15, 1784, a grant was passed, under the great seal of the province of Nova Scotia, of lands to a hundred and twenty men of this battalion, on the Upper St. John.¹⁷ As a rule each private received a hundred acres, each non-commissioned officer two hundred acres, and each commissioned officer five hundred and fifty acres. The whole grant comprised twenty-four thousand one hundred and fifty acres, with the usual allowance of ten per cent. for roads. The first settlement at Woodstock, New Brunswick, was made by members of De Lancey's corps, either in the summer of 1783, or more probably in the following spring.

Regarding the settlement of disbanded troops at Guysborough, in the eastern part of Nova Scotia, the late Mrs. James E. Hart, a careful historian of Guysborough county has written: "The Duke of Cumberland's Regiment (Lord Charles Montagu's), was the first to arrive at Chedabucto. These troops reached there in the transport *Content*, May 16, 1784. They were disbanded in Jamaica, October 24, 1783, and Lord Charles made arrangements for their settlement in Nova Scotia, and himself came with them to Halifax

15. De Lancey's second battalion was commanded by Col. George Brewerton. Stephen De Lancey, eldest son of the General, being lieutenant-colonel.

16. *Early Days of Woodstock* (pamphlet) by Archdeacon Raymond, LL.D., St. John, 1891.

17. The names of these grantees are recorded in the Crown Land Office at Fredericton.

in the transports *Industry* and *Argo*, arriving there December 13th. The regiment comprised three hundred men, under Captain Ralph Cunningham, but as no provision had been made for their reception the whole force had to spend the winter in huts in Halifax, erected on the site of the present Province Building. Owing to the severity of the climate and their poor shelter many of them died, Lord Charles Montagu himself, to the great grief of the troops, succumbing like his men.¹⁸

"In the autumn of 1783, about eight hundred people, soldiers and their families belonging to the British Legion, came to Port Mouton, in the western part of the Province. The next spring a fire destroyed all their houses, furniture, clothing, and most of their live stock. Word of this was sent to Halifax, and with all possible dispatch a war-ship was sent to their relief. Not satisfied to rebuild at Port Mouton, they had scouting parties reconnoitre the Province, with the result that they decided to go to Chedabucto. On the 21st of June, 1784, part of them, under Colonel Mollison, arrived there, sailing probably from Halifax. They are called in the muster-roll the 'Associated Departments of the Army and Navy.'

"On the 13th of July, 1784, the Loyalists from St. Augustine, Florida, were mustered at Halifax on board the transport *Argo*, bound for Chedabucto. They numbered fifty-nine men, twenty women, thirty-three children, and nine servants. They settled in Guysborough county, near the entrance of the Strait of Canso. On the 17th of July, 1784, the 3rd and 4th Battalions of the 60th, or Royal American Regiment, were mustered at Halifax, on their way to Chedabucto. They numbered seventy-six men, thirty-four women, nineteen children, and four servants. They located on the south side of Chedabucto Bay. They had enlisted in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, many of them having German ancestries, some being of Dutch descent.

"In December, 1783, the transport *Nymph* arrived at Country

¹⁸ Lord Charles Greville Montagu, second son of Robert, third Duke of Manchester, was born in 1741. He died at or near Halifax, February 3, 1784. Murdoch in his "History of Nova Scotia" (vol. 3, p. 24), giving notes of the year 1783, says that late in the year Lord Charles Montagu arrived at Halifax, "with 200 of his disbanded corps from Jamaica, via Havana, whither they had been driven by storm." Lord Charles Greville Montagu is buried under St. Paul's Church, in which there is a monument to his memory.

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Harbour, Guysborough county, with officers and privates, some of them with families. They belonged to the South Carolina Royalists, Royal North Carolina Regiment, and King's Carolina Rangers. Their port of sailing is not known."

That in the cases of some of the disbanded troops who settled in Nova Scotia there was unfortunate delay in the granting of lands, is shown, for instance, by the fact that Colonel Edward Winslow, Jr., Muster-Master-General of the Loyalist forces employed under the Crown, and a member of the first council of New Brunswick, wrote to his friend Ward Chipman: "I saw all these provincials, whom we have so frequently mustered, landing in this inhospitable climate in the month of October, without shelter and without knowing where to find a place to reside. The chagrin of the officers was not to me as truly affecting as the distress of the men. Those reputable sergeants of Ludlow's, Fanning's, Robinson's, etc. (once hospitable yeomen of the country), addressed me in language that almost murdered me as I heard it: 'Sir, we have served all the war; we were promised land, we expected you had obtained it for us. We like the country; only let us have a spot of our own and give us such kind of regulations as will protect us.'"

Regarding the Hessian troops who came to Nova Scotia, a large number of them settling here permanently, as for example in the locality known as the "Waldeck Line," near Clementsvalle, in Annapolis county, an accurate Halifax local historiographer, Mr. T. Vardy Hill, in a letter to the writer of this history, says: "On the 15th of April, 1782, the Secretary of State, Lord George Germaine, sent orders to the chief officer in command of the Hessian forces at New York to proceed to Halifax with these troops, to place them there under General Campbell, commanding officer in Nova Scotia.¹⁹ On the 13th of August, 1782, one thousand, nine hundred and fourteen Germans arrived at Halifax. The headquarters office record of corps, etc., which served in the Nova Scotia command after 1783, gives the following regiments as leaving New York for that province in May, 1783: De Seitz's Regiment, the Hessian Recruits,

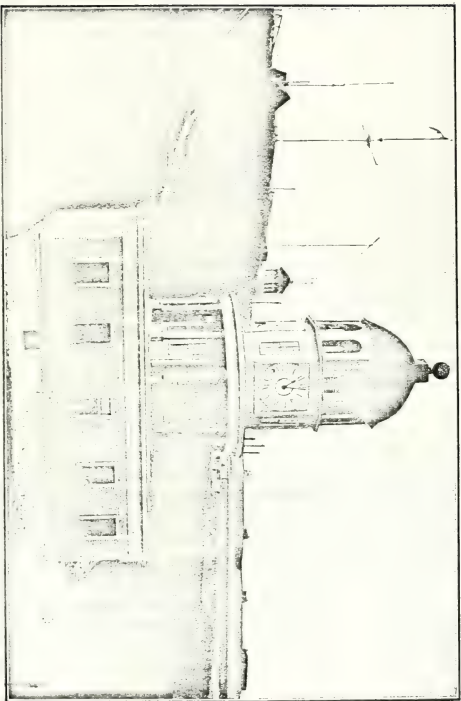
19. Mr. Hill here refers to the *Canadian Archives* for 1894, p. 390. Major General John Campbell arrived at Halifax from New York as commander of the forces, December 9, 1783. Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," vol. 3, p. 24.

Hesse-Hanoverian Grenadiers, Hesse-Hanoverian Yagers, Anhalt Zerbsters, Waldeckers, Hesse-Hanoverian Regiment (1st Battalion), and Brunswickers.”²⁰ Baron De Seitz, as is well remembered, died at Halifax soon after coming there with his regiment and was buried in a vault under St. Paul’s Church. In the church still hangs his hatchment, which has the unusual feature of an inscription. This inscription is as follows: “In Memory of Franz Carl Erdman Baron de Seitz, Colonel and chief of a Regiment of Hessian foot and Knight of the order pour la vertue militaire, departed this life decbr 1782, in the 65th year of his age.”

The arrival of the Loyalists at St. John and at Shelburne and other points on the rocky Nova Scotia sea-coast, cannot be pictured without sadness. The age in which these exiles lived was far less luxurious than that in which we live, yet in the older colonies from which they came many of them had been the possessors of considerable wealth, a few having had what was then great wealth, and most of them, at least having owned or been the inmates of comfortable homes in prosperous communities. To have been compelled to leave these settled homes for hastily constructed tents and log houses in the wild forests of an almost unexplored province; and, men, women, and little children, to be made to suffer all the privations and hardships of pioneer life, was enough, one would suppose, to have discouraged even the bravest hearts. For such people as the Barclays, Bayards, De Lanceys, Ludlows, Robinsons, and Wilkinsons of New York; and the Blisses, Chipmans, Lydes, Putnams, Snellings, and Winslows of Massachusetts, to be obliged to leave luxurious surroundings for the incredible hardships of life in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in those days, must have been much the same as it would be now for the Cuttings, Iselins, Morgans, or Rhinelanders of New York; or the Higginsons, Lawrences, Lowells, or Thayers of Boston, to banish themselves suddenly to some lonely part of Arizona, leaving most of their property behind.

To the actual physical discomforts which these people suffered on sea and land we must add the sorrow many felt at the severing of family ties, the breaking of friendships that were dear as life itself,

20. Mr. Hill here refers to *Canadian Archives* for 1894, p. 490.



THE GARRISON CLOCK, OR TOWN CLOCK

When the Duke of Kent was in Halifax (1794-1800), in command of the army in Nova Scotia, he instructed the engineer officer to make plans for the erection of a Garrison Clock, and forward same to the Horse Guards for approval. The clock was manufactured in London, and arrived June 10, 1803, in H. M. S. "Dart." The building was completed and the clock placed October 20th, same year. The clock was not injured in the recent explosion, and is still keeping time.

and the sad separation from scenes that had become endeared to them by a thousand tender associations. Bishop John Inglis writes in 1844, after his first episcopal visit to Shelburne, that he had found there, still living, some of the New York emigrants, who told him "that on their first arrival, lines of women could be seen sitting on the rocks of the shore, weeping at their altered condition;" and Sabine says, "I have stood at the graves of some of these wives and daughters, and have listened to the accounts of the living in shame and anger." At St. John the first dwellings were all log huts, a little church being the earliest frame building erected. Walter Bates, describing the settlement of Kingston, on the St. John river, by himself and his fellow passengers of the "good ship *Union*," says: "The next morning with all our effects, women and children, we set sail above the falls, and arrived at Belleisle Bay before sunset. Nothing but wilderness before our eyes; the women and children did not refrain from tears! John Marvin, John Lyon and myself went on shore and pitched a tent in the bushes and slept in it all night. Next morning every man came on shore and cleared away and landed all our baggage, and the women and children, and the sloop left us alone in the wilderness. We had been informed that the Indians were uneasy at our coming, and that a considerable body had collected at the head of Belleisle. Yet our hope and trust remained firm that God would not forsake us. We set to work with such resolution that before night we had as many tents set as made the women and children comfortable." Soon "every man was jointly employed clearing places for building, cutting logs, carrying them together by strength of hands, and laying up log houses, by which means seventeen log houses were laid up and covered with bark, so that by the month of November, every man in the district found himself and family covered under his own roof, and a happier people never lived upon this globe, enjoying in unity the blessings which God had provided for us in the country into whose coves and wild woods we were driven through persecution."

The annual reports of the Church of England missionaries, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, give us much insight into the troubles experienced by the Tory exiles at the beginning of their new life in these provinces. Not a little of their suffering,

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as in the case of the disbanded troops, came from unavoidable delays in the allotment of lands for their use. It is quite possible that the Nova Scotia government may not have been thoroughly systematic in its methods of arranging for the settlement of these unhappy people, but it will be remembered that for two or three years the refugees kept pouring into the province in bewildering numbers, and that certain formalities were necessary in granting the smallest amount of government land for their use. No one who examines the records of the time can help seeing that, as Sir Guy Carleton in New York was determined to leave nothing undone that he could do to assist the Loyalists in leaving their old homes, so Governor Parr in Nova Scotia, was most anxious to help them find comfortable new homes in the country to which they had come. But it is clear that Parr and his Council were sometimes at their wits' end to know how to provide for this unexpected influx of new inhabitants.

The progress of the leading Loyalist settlements in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick can perhaps be ascertained better from the Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel than in any other way. The missionaries, who like their congregations had been obliged to leave the revolting colonies, knew intimately the condition of the wilderness communities in which their lot was now cast; and the exigencies of their missions and the rules of the Society required that detailed reports of the people's condition should be sent to England every year. "Of the terrible sufferings and hardships the Loyalists underwent, who came to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick," says Mr. Edward F. De Lancey, "the history of these provinces makes sad mention. Suffice it to say here, that they have never been paralleled since the persecution of the Huguenots and their flight from France at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685."

Among the Loyalists who left the various colonies now states of the American Union, for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, were some seventy men who were promoted to so high official rank, or became otherwise so prominent in their new spheres, as to have left their names indelibly stamped on the history of the Maritime Provinces. Thomas Barclay, who after the peace became H. M. first

Consul-General at New York, was one of these men; Daniel and Jonathan Bliss, Sampson Salter Blowers, Ward Chipman, Charles Inglis, Jonathan Odell, John Wentworth, and Isaac Wilkins were others. A great many of the Loyalists who founded families in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick came from Westchester, New York. Of this stock are the families of Bates, Bonnett, Bugbee, Disbrow, Gidney, Merritt, Mott, Palmer, Purdy, Sneden, Wetmore, and Wilkins. Other New York names were Anderson, Andrews, Auchmuty, Barclay, Barry, Barton, Baxter, Bayard, Beardsley, Bedle, Bell, Betts, Billopp, Bremner, Burton, Campbell, Carman, Coyle, De Lancey, De Mille, De Peyster, De Veber, Dick, Ditmars, Dunn, Fowler, Hatfield, Hewlett, Horsfield, Inglis, Livingston, Ludlow, McKay, Miles, Moore, Murray, Peters, Pine, Pryor, Rapalje, Remsen, Robinson, Sands, Seaman, Thorne, Van Cortlandt, Ward, Watson, Weeks, Wetmore, Wiggins, Willett, and Wilmot. From Massachusetts came representatives of the families of Ayres, Barnard, Beaman, Bliss, Blowers, Brattle, Brinley, Brymer, Burton, Campbell, Chipman, Courtney, Cunningham, Cutler, Danforth, Davis, De Blois, Dunbar, Forrester, Garnett, Garrison, Gore, Gray, Green, Greenwood, Hallowell, Hatch, Hathaway, Hazen, Hill, Howe, Hubbard, Hutchinson, Jones, Kent, Leonard, Leslie, Loring, Lyde, Mansfield, Minot, Murray, Oliver, Paine, Parker, Perkins, Poole, Putnam, Robie, Ruggles, Sewall, Snelling, Stearns, Upham, White, Winslow, and Willard. From Connecticut came Bates, Botsford, Hanford, and Jarvis. From Rhode Island, Chaloner, Coles, Halliburton, and Hazard. From Maine, Gardiner; from New Hampshire Blanchard and Wentworth; from New Jersey, Blauvelt, Burwell, Cooke, Crowell, Hartshorne, Lawrence, Milledge, Odell, Van Buskirk, and Van Norden. From Pennsylvania, Butler, Bissett, Boggs, Lenox, Marchington, Stansbury, and Vernon. From Virginia, Benedict, Bustin, Coulbourne, Donaldson, Lear, Saunders, and Wallace; from North Carolina, Fanning; from Maryland, Hensley. Viscount Bury says truly of the settlement of the Loyalists in the several provinces of what is now the Dominion of Canada: "It may safely be said that no portion of the British possessions ever received so noble an acquisition."

The advent of so many thousands of new people to Nova Scotia

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and the unusual interest taken in their welfare by the Home Government and the provincial authorities, naturally created some jealousy in the minds of the older inhabitants. The Tories were not in a conciliatory frame of mind, and having lately come out of a far more advanced civilization than that of the forest girt Nova Scotian shores, they would, not unnaturally, also make more or less assertion of superiority to the older settlers at their quiet fisheries and on their farms along the rough Atlantic seashore and beside the dyke-lands of the Basin of Minas and Cobequid Bay. The inevitable friction that actually did arise between the two bodies of people could not be lessened, either, by the fact that many of the Loyalists were men so long accustomed to assert themselves strongly in political and social affairs that in their new sphere they could not help soon making their influence felt in marked ways. Such persons as General Timothy Ruggles, Major Thomas Barclay, Col. James and Col. Stephen De Lancey, Mr. Isaac Wilkins, and Sampson Salter Blowers, could not remain inactive, or take second rank in any place where their fortunes might be cast. Accordingly, we find these men, and others of their fellow Loyalists, shortly occupying prominent places in the Council, the House of Assembly, the Judiciary, and the social life of Nova Scotia; while in what is now New Brunswick a distinct agitation very soon began to show itself for the formation of a new province.

The history of Shelburne, the Loyalist settlement at Port Razoir, begun with such high hopes and resulting in a few years in such dismal failure, has a melancholy interest. Its New York founders from the start determined to make it an important naval and military station, and at one time hoped that it would supplant Halifax as the capital of the Province. In a short time after its foundation, its population rose to between ten and twelve thousand, but the site chosen for it was so unfavorable, there being no good farming country about it, that before many years had passed the majority of its inhabitants had moved away, either to New Brunswick, to other parts of Nova Scotia, or, as in many cases, to their old homes in the United States, leaving it a sad and disappointed place. Such of those who returned to the United States locked their doors, not even removing their furniture, and quietly went away, leaving

their houses to be taken unchallenged possession of by negroes or other poor settlers in future times.

"I have lately been at Shelburne," writes Bishop John Inglis, in 1844, in his letter already referred to, "where nearly ten thousand Loyalists, chiefly from New York, and comprising many of my father's parishioners, attracted by the beauty and security of a most noble harbor, were tempted to plant themselves, regardless of the important want of any country in the neighborhood fit for cultivation. Their means were soon exhausted in building a spacious town, at great expense, and vainly contending against indomitable rocks; but in a few years the place was reduced to a few hundred families. Many of these returned to their native country, and a large portion of them were reduced to poverty. . . . Some few of the first emigrants are still living." How many actually remained in the peninsula of Nova Scotia, and how many went back to the United States, it is impossible to say. There are still many families of Loyalist descent in this province, but a large number of the most important Loyalist names have now almost or quite disappeared.

In 1783, as soon as the people of Shelburne were well settled, Governor Parr came down from Halifax and paid them a visit. On Sunday, July twentieth, he arrived in H. M. Sloop *La Sophie*. When he disembarked, salutes were fired from the ship, and as he landed, cannon were also fired by the artillery at the port, the officers of the corps on duty receiving him with due formality. On Tuesday morning he again landed, amidst loud cannonading, and marched up King Street, through long lines of the inhabitants assembled to do him honor, to the place appointed for his reception by the justices of the peace and other principal inhabitants of the place. After an address had been presented to him, he named the new town *Shelburne*, and "drank the King's health, prosperity to the town and district of Shelburne, and to the Loyalists, each toast being accompanied with a general discharge of cannon." In the evening a grand dinner was given on board the *Sophie*, and the next day another at the house of Justice Robertson, in the town. A public ball and supper, "conducted with the greatest festivity and de-

corum," followed later; after which his Excellency, well pleased, returned to Halifax.

The next year, in May, Sir Charles Douglas, Bart., Commander of the British Navy, on this station, visited the town and was fittingly received; the same month Sir John Wentworth, then Mr. Wentworth, Surveyor General of the King's Woods in North America, made Shelburne a brief visit. Four years later, the town received Prince William Henry, afterwards King William IV, then a young naval officer, who came in the warship *Andromeda* and staid four days. During his stay a ball was given for his Royal Highness, which the Prince himself opened with Mrs. Bruce, wife of the Collector of the port. In 1786, says Murdoch, "the new city was a gay and lively place. Every holiday or anniversary of any description, was loyally kept and mirthfully enjoyed. On St. Andrew's day, December eleventh, of that year, the St. Andrew's Society gave an elegant ball at the Merchants' coffee house. The ball room was crowded on the occasion, and the hours of the night passed away in the most pleasing manner."

The settlement at the mouth of the St. John River was much more successful. When the first Loyalists reached that picturesque bay the shores were densely wooded, only a little spot about Fort Howe showing that white men had ever been there before. The refugees lived first in log huts, brush camps, or canvas tents, but slowly, on the cleared slopes small frame houses arose, a little Anglican Church, also, being built for worship, as well. In the beginning, the town was laid out in lots and given in two grants, one to eleven hundred and eighty-four grantees, another to ninety-three. Other Loyalist settlements also soon arose,—at Fredericton, which in 1788, was made the capital of the new province, at Gagetown, Kingston, Maudslove, St. Andrews, Sussex, and Woodstock.

The displeasure of many of the Loyalists, civilians as well as soldiers, regarding what they felt to be the tardy action of government in the apportionment of their lands, or with the allotments themselves, has frequently been discussed. Both in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, this displeasure emphatically showed itself. At Shelburne, in consequence of discontent with the allotments already made, the Governor and Council, August 5, 1784, appointed

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the following persons as their agents there in the assignment of lands: Isaac Wilkins, James McEwen, Abraham Van Buskirk, Joseph Brewer, David Thompson, Joshua Watson, Benjamin Davis, Charles McNeal, Ebenezer Parker, Alexander Leckie, Joshua Pell, Nicholas Ogden, Robert Gray, justices of the peace; Valentine Nutter, Peter Lynch, William Charles White, John Lownds, Alexander Robinson, Patrick Wall, Michael Langan, Isaac Wilkins and any four of the others, to constitute a quorum. In November, 1784, the governor authorized Amos Botsford, the Rev. Edward Brudenell, Colonel Barton, and Messrs. Hill and Stump, to lay out and assign unlocated lands in Digby to such persons there as were unprovided with land. At St. John there was so great dissatisfaction that in 1783 four hundred persons signed an agreement to remove to Passamaquoddy. Tuttle, in his history of Canada, says: "The Loyalists who settled at the St. John River did not agree very well with the original settlers. They grew angry with the Governor because their grants of land had not been surveyed, and he in turn charged them with refusing to assist in the surveys by acting as chainmen unless they were well paid for it."

Soon the Loyalists demanded additional representation in the Nova Scotia Assembly, but this Governor Parr opposed, on the ground that his instructions forbade his increasing or diminishing the number of representatives in the Assembly. Failing in their efforts to secure increased representation, the people next began to agitate for a new province north of the isthmus, a policy against which Governor Parr naturally strongly contended. In the early part of 1784 as many as three hundred and forty-one persons at Parr Town (St. John) passed resolutions of various sorts regarding the separation, and so influential were the Loyalists with the English ministry that their request was granted and in August news came out to the Halifax authorities, in the packet from Falmouth, that a new province, in compliment to the reigning family of England to be called New Brunswick, was to be at once set off. The line between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, it was declared, was to be at the narrowest part of the isthmus, from Bay Verte to Cumberland Basin, which division would place Fort Cumberland, and indeed much of what was then Cumberland County, within

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the limits of the new province. The governor of New Brunswick was to be Colonel Thomas Carleton, a brother of Sir Guy, who had himself commanded a regiment during the war and was highly esteemed by the exiled Loyalists.

In October, Colonel Carleton and his family arrived at Halifax from London, in the *St. Lawrence*, Captain Wyatt, after a passage of eight weeks; and on Sunday, November twenty-first, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they reached St. John, where they received a most enthusiastic welcome. As the *Ranger*, the sloop in which they had crossed the bay from Digby, entered the harbor, one salute of seventeen guns was fired from the battery at Lower Cove, and another from Fort Howe. The house of Mr. George Leonard, at the corner of Union and Dock streets, had been fitted up for their reception, and thither, amidst great applause, the distinguished party was at once conducted. As his Excellency entered the door the crowd gave three rousing cheers, with "Long live our King and Governor!" Then the enthusiastic people dispersed, to dream of the august ceremony that should be held on the morrow, when the Chief should take the oaths of his office and the new Council be sworn.

The first Legislative Council of New Brunswick consisted of George Duncan Ludlow, James Putnam, Abijah Willard, Gabriel G. Ludlow, Isaac Allan, William Hazen, and Dr. Jonathan Odell, all of whom had been men of considerable note in the colonies from which they had come. Five days after the first meeting of the new Council, its number was increased by the appointment of Guilfred Studholm, and on the fourth of December, by that of Edward Winslow. In July, 1766, two more members were added, Messrs. Joshua Upham and Daniel Bliss. A judiciary was also appointed, consisting of George Duncan Ludlow, Chief Justice; and James Putnam, Isaac Allan, and Joshua Upham, Assistant Judges. The Supreme Court met for the first time on Tuesday, February first, 1785, in the little frame church, which thus served both for worship and the administration of justice. The first parliament of the province assembled at St. John on the third of January, 1786, in a house known as the "Mallard" house, on the north side of King Street, the members being: Stanton Hazard, and John McGeorge, for the

City of St. John; and William Pagan, Ward Chipman, Jonathan Bliss, and Christopher Billopp, for the county. The Speakership of the House of Assembly was given to Amos Botsford, the presidency of the Council to the Chief Justice, Mr. Ludlow, the office of Attorney-General to Dr. Jonathan Odell, and that of Provincial Secretary to Jonathan Bliss.

Of these high officials, most of whom were for many years after their first appointment intimately connected with the destinies of the province they had helped create, George Duncan Ludlow had been a judge of the Supreme Court of New York; James Putnam had long ranked as one of the ablest lawyers in America; Abijah Willard, of Massachusetts, had been a mandamus councillor and had served in the army from the taking of Louisburg until 1763, later being commissary to the troops at New York; Gabriel G. Ludlow, of New York had commanded a battalion of Maryland volunteers; Isaac Allan had been colonel of a New Jersey corps of volunteers and had lost an estate in Pennsylvania because of his attachment to the royal cause; William Hazen, formerly of Newburyport, Massachusetts, had come to Passamaquoddy and St. John as a trader in 1764; the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Odell, of New Jersey, had practised medicine, and had been a successful Church of England clergyman, in the latter capacity acting as chaplain to the royal troops; and Guilfred Studholm, probably also a New England man, had been in the province for some years in military service, as commander at Fort Howe.

Connected with the city of St. John, in the present province of New Brunswick, in the days of its founding by New York Loyalists, is the name of one man whose record in the Revolution no one has ever attempted to justify. This was the notorious Benedict Arnold. In 1787, Arnold made his residence in St. John, and there entered into mercantile life, trading chiefly with the West Indies. "Mr. Sparks suggests," writes Mr. Isaac N. Arnold, "that the English Government granted him facilities in the way of contracts for supplying the troops there with provisions. At any rate he carried on an extensive business, building ships, and sending cargoes to the West Indies, his two sons, Richard and Henry, aiding him in his operations. . . . Arnold is said to have exhibited here some of his characteristic faults, living in a style of ostentation and dis-

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play, and being so haughty and reserved in his intercourse that he became personally obnoxious. While the family were residing at St. John, George Arnold, their sixth child was born." In 1788, General Arnold and his family returned to London, where they had first settled five years before. In 1790 they were again at St. John, but in 1791 they removed permanently to England.

In his survey of the Loyalists at large, Dr. George E. Ellis of Boston, in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," says:²¹ "Among those most frank and fearless in the avowal of loyalty and who suffered the severest penalties, were men of the noblest character and of the highest position. So, also, bearing the same odious title, were men of the most despicable nature, self-seeking, and unprincipled, ready for any act of evil. And between these two were men of every grade of respectability and every shade of meanness." The New York Loyalists have often been spoken of as if they comprehended all the "aristocracy" of that town. Such a statement if made of Boston would be more nearly, though not entirely, true. In New York some of the most active supporters of the Revolution, like John Jay and Governor Morris, bore names as aristocratic and held places as socially high as any in the province; and though the De Lanceys, De Peysters, Philippses, and Johnsons, and the greater part of the people in society who acknowledged the leadership of these families, were enthusiastic supporters of the crown, the Schuylers and Livingstons, at least, were known as equally loyal to the cause of the Whigs.

So far as religion ruled in the colonies, the Episcopalians were very largely Tory in sympathy, and the same was true of a minority of the adherents of the Dutch Reformed body wherever it existed. The Presbyterians, however, of the middle colonies and the Congregationalists of New England almost without exception gave their support strongly to the patriot cause. In both the middle colonies and New England the government officials of all sorts naturally ranged themselves on the royal side, while in such seaports as Salem and Plymouth, and in the trading villages of New York, including those of Long Island and Staten Island, the mer-

21. "Narrative and Critical History of America," vol. 8, p. 185.

chants who did business directly with the mother country and whose interests would necessarily suffer by any disturbance of the old relations, were opposed to the Revolution. Besides these two classes of people, whose material interests made it almost necessary for them to be loyal to Britain, not a single fair-minded historian in these days fails to recognize that there were among the Loyalists countless men and women of the highest principles, who loved constitutional order, hated anarchy, and believed that obedience to law was the first duty of honest citizens. The people of this class, however, were not by any means all so bigotedly conservative, and so stupidly insensible to their rights as colonists, as to be willing to endure any hardships that overbearing ministries in England might impose upon them, but believing that to preserve a united empire was more important than to secure the immediate redress of temporary wrongs, they were willing to bide their time until the mother country could be made to see her duty towards her American colonies and should be willing to abolish their wrongs.



De Soto's Route in Arkansas

BY ADA MIXON, WASHINGTON, D. C.



It has never been satisfactorily determined just where De Soto crossed the Mississippi river, which he discovered on June 18, 1541, or how far westward he went afterward. His wanderings through the present States of Florida, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi have been traced with a fair degree of accuracy, but the few writers who have touched upon his route through Arkansas each give a different account of it. Some chroniclers state that he went as far west as the Rocky Mountains, unmindful of the fact that it took him two years to travel from Tampa Bay to the point where he crossed the Mississippi, and that his travels west of that river occupied only a year. Some writers have placed the point of crossing at Chickasaw Bluff, and the route through the Ozarks of Arkansas and Missouri. Later writers are of the opinion that the point of crossing must have been a short distance north of the 34th. parallel, and this is far more likely, as may be determined by the description of his wanderings immediately after reaching the western bank and by comparing that description with the present aspect of the same region.

The route outlined on the accompanying sketch has been worked out from a careful study of the only recorded accounts which are regarded as accurate. First in importance is the report of the Factor or Chief Commissary of the expedition, Don Luys Hernandez de Biedma, which was written from notes jotted down during the journey. This is very brief, giving only a few essential details, names of tribes, towns, rivers, resources and some directions. Second, the journal of Rodrigo Ranjel, De Soto's private secretary, which bears evidence that it was an actual journal made during their travels, and gives more fully than Biedma's work the directions taken and descriptions of the various regions traversed. Third, the account given by an anonymous writer known only as "The Gen-

tleman of Elvas," a resident of Elvas, in Portugal, who with a party of Portuguese gentlemen joined the expedition of De Soto at Seville. A list of names of these Portuguese is given in this narrative, and no doubt so modest a cavalier as "The Gentleman of Elvas" has placed his own name last upon this list. If this deduction is correct, his real name was Don Alvaro Fernandez, who is mentioned last in the list of nine names. His account of the expedition was undoubtedly made from notes and dates set down on the trip; this has been proven by comparison with the calendars of the years 1539 to 1543. While some of his statements are evidently made in error, his narrative has been accepted as the best story extant of their travels through those primeval forests, both on account of its engaging literary style and its reliability as compared with the two official texts. It is worthy of note that this is the only contribution from Portugal to the history of the New World. Its merit places it in the foremost ranks of history of that period, a period which includes some of the brightest stars in the literary firmament. Without doubt the "Gentleman of Elvas" was a cavalier of some standing at home and of some importance in the expedition itself, being present at the counsels of the officers, and bearing his part nobly both in the deliberations and in the fighting.

Previous writers on this subject have based their determination of De Soto's route largely upon the account of the Inca Garcilero de la Vega, a historian of the sixteenth century, whose narrative was written from reminiscences related by an old soldier forty years after he had returned from the expedition. It is an interesting and romantic story, but obviously inaccurate and highly colored. This narrative has been entirely ignored in tracing the route of De Soto herewith presented.

Besides these sources of data for the route, the only other corroborative method possible is a personal examination of the country involved, and this has been done by the author as far as concerns the first portion of the journey immediately following their crossing of the Mississippi river. Beyond that, the directions and descriptions in the three records referred to have been followed, and the fact that the map of the region corroborates their accounts may be considered further proof of the general accuracy of the whole.

De Soto's method of advance in his explorations seems to have been first, to surprise the natives and take a number of prisoners who were retained as hostages until he could communicate with the cacique, or chief of the tribe. His interpreter, Juan Ortiz, had spent twelve years among the Indians of Florida, and was his means of communication during the first three years of exploration. After reducing the chief to submission, exacting tribute of supplies, guides, interpreters, and slaves to help carry their burdens, De Soto and his party, after stopping in one village a few days or longer, would pass on to another province. From the Indians he learned where gold might be found, or where abounded the most fertile fields, the most prolific crops, and the most abundant game. Very often they would reach a village to find it deserted by the natives, who had heard of the approach of the Spaniards and had fled in terror.

It is remarkable that these Indians of 1541 knew nothing of the calumet, which was regarded as an important institution one hundred and fifty years later by the Indians in the same territory. Also, their demeanor was altogether at variance with our generally accepted ideas of Indian characteristics. When defeated or when seeking clemency, the chief always gave way to tears instead of maintaining the stoical dignity of the tribes of later years, the type long familiar to us in song and story.

As De Soto had heard from the Indians on the east side of the Mississippi reports of the prosperity of the Pacaha country on the opposite shore, his desire was to find the Pacahas as soon as he crossed the "Great River," as the Mississippi was designated by the Spaniards. For that reason, after crossing the river his course was northeasterly, following the river until he reached a large town in Aquixo and advanced to the town of Aquixo, which Ranjel says was "very beautiful or beautifully situated." No doubt after the swamps which opposed their passage on both sides of the "Great River," and among which they had wandered for many weary days, they were pleased to see the hills of Crowley's Ridge, which begin at the present town of Helena. On the principle that what was a good site for a town then would still be a good site, it is most likely that the town of Aquixo stood upon the present site of Helena. This town is partly on the hills, and partly on the plain below stretching

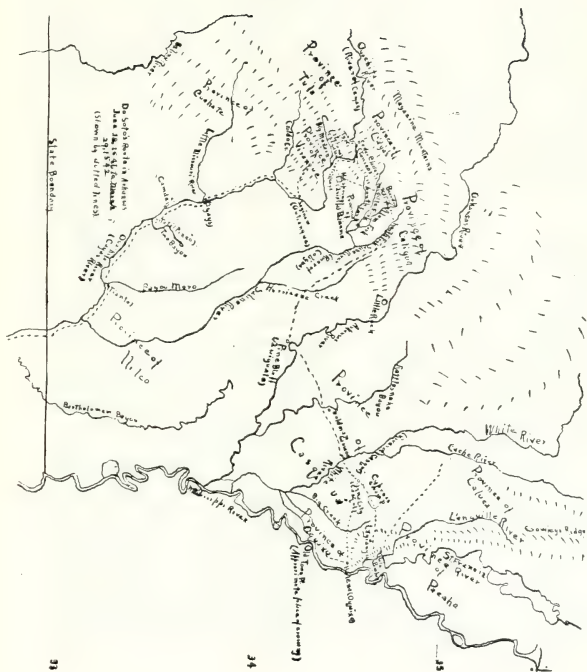
to the "Great River," and may be described as "a beautiful village, or beautifully situated." One day's journey below Helena, therefore, may be regarded as the most probable place at which De Soto's expedition crossed the Mississippi river, but owing to the changes which have occurred since then in the river bed, it is impossible to give any one spot even as a mere conjecture. It is a well known fact that the Mississippi river has changed its course at various points and at various times within the memory of man, and in the course of three hundred and fifty years the topography of that vicinity has probably undergone a complete change, although two hundred miles south of the area affected by earthquakes.

They crossed the "Great River" on Saturday, June 18, and stayed at Aquixo from Sunday until Tuesday, states the terse diary of Ranjel. The Indians at Aquixo told them of a fertile and prosperous country called Casqui, three days' journey from there, and they started in that direction and crossed "a small river." Neither of the three chroniclers state in what direction the party went in search of Casqui, and previous writers have assumed that they continued their northeasterly course, and that the "small river" was what is now the St. Francis river. But there were tall pines at the town of Casqui, and none exist in the St. Francis river valley—certainly not on the eastern side of that river, where the land is low and swampy, nor is the land "higher, drier and more level than any other alongside the river that had been seen until then," as Elvas describes the land of Casqui. To find such a country we must turn to the westward where, three days' travel from Helena in the southern part of Monroe county, it is "higher, drier and more level" and is also a region of pines. Pine City may be considered the site of one of the Casqui towns, possibly the town of Casqui itself, where a cross of pine fifty feet high was set up by the Spaniards on a handmade hill. The "small river" which they crossed was Big creek, which at that time was larger than its present dimensions, as all smaller streams tend to grow less if the region through which they flow is under cultivation. For example, in 1812, when the city of Washington was besieged by the British, it is a matter of history that the British ships sailed up the

Anacostia river as far as Bladensburg, Maryland, an impossible feat at the present day for even the smallest seagoing craft.

On Wednesday the travellers passed through "the worst tract for swamps and water they had found in all Florida," according to Ranjel. On Thursday they reached the Casquin country. It was here that the pine cross was erected at the request of the Chief of Casqui. Observing that the Christians were more powerful than himself, he expressed a desire to worship the Christian's God, frankly admitting that his wish was born of a desire for material profit. He willingly furnished them with supplies, and offered to help them invade the Pacaha province, whose tribe were his hereditary enemies. The "Gentleman of Elvas" says that "in the fields were many walnut trees, having tender-shelled nuts in the shape of acorns, many being found stored in the houses." This is the region of pecan forests. Ranjel says that in the town of Casqui "over the door to the principal tent, were many heads of fierce bulls," which were without doubt the heads of buffaloes.

From here they went in the direction of Pacaha, accompanied by Casqui, who sent his men ahead to build a bridge for the Spaniards across a lake or swamp which separated the two provinces. The Elvas gentleman calls this "a lake like an estuary that entered the Great River," and it was "half a cross bow shot over, of great depth and swiftness of current." Ranjel refers to it as a "swamp." The bridge made for them by the Indians was "built of wood in the manner of timber thrown across from tree to tree; on one side there being a rail of poles higher than the rest as a support for those who pass." It took the Spaniards a day to cross this swamp. Northeast of Casqui or Pine City, in the southwestern corner of Lee county, is a cypress swamp which is still a formidable body of water in high water time, and in those days before the surrounding region was under cultivation, no doubt covered a much longer and wider extent of territory. They took several towns in Pacaha, one of which may have occupied the present site of La Grange, on Crowley's ridge, and three days later they reached the village of the Chief of Pacaha, which was near the Mississippi and the mouth of the St. Francis river. They surprised the Pacahas, who fled as the



Spaniards approached and took refuge on "an island between two rivers," one of which was the "Great River."

There seems to be little doubt that this other river was the St. Francis, but the exact point at which the St. Francis then entered the Mississippi is difficult to determine. An examination of the map of this territory shows that these two rivers come within one and a third miles of each other at a point about nine miles in a direct line above the mouth of the St. Francis. The topography of this region leads one to the conclusion that it may be possible that formerly the Mississippi's course led through this one and a third mile "cut-off" and into the present channel of the St. Francis, where that river follows an irregular course around an extent of territory which probably at some time was an island. If this is the case, the "island between two rivers" may have been at the mouth of the L'Anguille river where it now flows into the St. Francis river, the St. Francis at that time entering the Mississippi at the western end of the "cut-off."

Says Ranjel, "In Aquixo, Casqui and Pacaha, they saw the best villages seen up to that time, better stockaded and fortified and the people of finer quality excepting those of Cofaticiqui." Pacaha was the first fortified town the Spaniards found in Florida. It was surrounded by a stockade of timber ten feet high and plastered with mud. Around this was a moat which was fed by a ditch leading from the "Great River," and this moat was well stocked with a wonderful variety of fish, as were all the waters in that neighborhood. The travellers caught them with nets, and "however much might be the casting there was never any lack of them." "There was a fish called bagre, the third part of which was head, with gills from end to end, and along the sides were great spines, like very sharp awls. Those of this sort that lived in the lake were as big as pike; in the river were some that weighed from one hundred to one hundred and fifty pounds. Many were taken with the hook. There was one in the shape of a barbel; another like bream with the head of a hake, having a colour between red and brown, and was the most esteemed. There was likewise a kind called peel-fish, the snout a cubit in length, the upper lip being shaped like a shovel. Another fish was like a shad. . . . There was one called pereu,

the Indians sometimes brought, the size of a hog, and had rows of teeth above and below." The sportsmen who fish in these waters will recognize many of these types of fish today.

In Pacaha they found many shawls, deer-skins, lion and bear-skins, and many cat-skins. "Numbers who had been a long time badly covered there clothed themselves. Of the shawls they made mantles and cassocks; some made gowns and lined them with cat-skins, as they also did the cassocks. Of the deer skins were made jerkins, shirts, stockings and shoes; and from the bear skins they made very good cloaks, such as no water could get through. They found shields of raw cowhide out of which armor was made for the horses." This passage and the preceding one regarding the fish are from the narrative of the Elvas Gentleman. Evidently the buf-faloes roamed in those primeval forests not many miles from the Mississippi river. As the travellers had lost most of their clothing in the great fire at Mauvila (Mobile) they were now glad to array themselves in the habilaments of a pioneer trapper, even the priests of the party. All the sacred vestments and implements of the holy office had been lost in the fire, so that the first religious services conducted on the western side of the "Great River"—first recorded at Casqui—were more Lutheran or Calvinistic than Roman in character.

De Soto, after invading Pacaha with the aid of Casquin, was deserted by Casquin at a critical moment in the fight. Later, having subdued Pacaha, he had arranged to aid Pacaha to conquer Casquin, but that wily chief, hearing of his design, came to him weeping and humbly acknowledging his fault. In a long speech punctuated with sobs, Casquin asked why De Soto wished to treat him, a friend and a brother Christian, so cruelly. De Soto received him kindly and endeavored to make peace between him and Pacaha, and thought he had succeeded until he invited them to join him at a feast. As they were about to sit down at the banquet, the two chiefs began a heated argument and were about to come to blows. Summoning the aid of the interpreter, De Soto learned that both the great chiefs claimed the distinction of sitting at the right hand of his host. They agreed to submit the question to "the Governor," and each gave his reason for demanding the place of honor as his

right—Pacaha, because his ancestors were more honorable, and Casquin because he was older and more distinguished. De Soto finally gave the right hand place to Pacaha. Thus the first discussion of the question of diplomatic precedence recorded on the North American continent took place in the backwoods of Arkansas in the summer of 1541, but the end of such disputes is not yet, as the hosts and hostesses of Washington can but do not testify.

While the party was at Pacaha, an expedition was sent to the northwest in search of more provisions and, as always, on the lookout for signs of gold. They were also anxious to find a route to the sea. They traveled eight days "through a wilderness which had large pondy swamps"—which answers to the description of certain parts of Lee and Monroe counties in high water time, more especially in the tracts now reclaimed by cultivation. Biedma, who went on this expedition, says they found a region "where we didn't find even trees, and only some wide plains on which grew a plant so rank and high that even on horseback we could not break our way through"—this must have been Prairie county. Finally they came to a small village with huts covered with rush sewed together—they called this province Caluca. The people "cared little to plant, finding support in meat and fish." They returned from this expedition "in great extremity, eating green persimmons and cornstalks found in this Indian town." These Indians told the party that toward the north the country was thinly populated; the "cattle were in such plenty no corn field could be protected from them and the inhabitants lived upon meat."

Eight days' journey northwest of Pacaha would follow a line more or less parallel to the Missouri and North Arkansas railroad, which runs through the prairie region of north Monroe county and in Prairie county. The Carluc village may have been on Cache river, as the inhabitants lived on fish and meat. It was the custom of these people to move their tents of skins from place to place according to the supplies they found. As soon as the fish or meat of one region was gone, they folded their tents and moved on to another better supplied.

After a month's stay at Pacaha, the Governor and his party went back toward the land of the Casquines. The Indians had told the

Spaniards of a large province and country of great abundance towards the southwest called Quiguate. On the way toward Quiguate they visited Casquin, and that friendly chief took them in canoes across the river of Casqui, which was a branch of the "Great River," and was as "large as the Guadalquiver"—this refers to White river. Their place of crossing was probably at some point near Casscoe. On the second day they camped by a stream, probably Rattlesnake Bayou, in the neighborhood of Goldman. About three days' journey from White river brought them to Quiguate, the "largest village they had seen in all Florida," according to the testimony of all three of the authorities from which this record is taken. It was situated on another river of Casqui, now known as the Arkansas river. According to present calculations, Quiguate was in the vicinity of the site of the present city of Pine Bluff, on the Arkansas river. This country of Quiguate, "like that of Casqui and Pacaha, was level and fertile, having rich river margins on which the Indians made extensive fields," says Elvas.

At Quiguate they were told that eleven days' travel to the northwest was a province called Caligua, where they subsisted on certain cattle and where interpreters might be found for the whole distance to the "other sea." De Soto was trying to find a way out to the Gulf of Mexico. Also, Caligua was in the mountains and he hoped to find gold there.

They remained at Quiguate eight or ten days to find guides and interpreters, leaving there August 26 in search of Caligua. They traveled northwest through a region of swamps, finding no place to camp for three nights,—“from swamp to swamp made a journey over four swamps and days' marches, seeing no end of fish because all that country is flooded by the Great River when it overflows its banks.” “Swamps where we drank from the hand and found an abundance of fish,” says Biedma. This was through the low marshes and swamps between the Arkansas and Saline rivers. They were following in a general way the direction of the Saline river toward its source in the mountains of Saline county.

And now comes one of the most puzzling passages in the whole account of the expedition. They left Quiguate on August 26, and on Tuesday, September 1, they reached the river of Caligua, “and

Wednesday likewise the same river." At first blush this sentence leads to the conclusion that the party were doubling on their trail, as they were sometimes compelled to do owing to the mistakes of the interpreter in understanding the directions given by the Indians. But as Juan Ortiz did not die until they reached winter quarters at Autianque, it is not likely that such a mistake occurred at this point. An explanation may be found by an examination of the map of Saline county where the Saline river takes its rise in four branches or forks. Evidently they first reached the North fork and next day the Alum fork of Saline river. When they left Caligua they "crossed the river again," says Ranjel, referring to the Middle fork, which is south of the Alum fork. As no mention is made of the South fork, the presumption is that Caligua was situated in the extreme western portion of Saline county between Alum fork and middle fork. Going southward they would find the South fork a much smaller stream and cross it without making any note of it.

According to Biedma's description of Caligua, the "land is very plentiful of substance, and we found a large quantity of dressed cows' tails and others already cured." In reaching the town they "went over much even country, and other of broken hills coming straight upon the town as much so as if we had been taken thither by a royal highway instead of which not a man in all time had passed there before." This is perhaps the earliest description on record of a buffalo trail.

They found the town of Caligua populated, and "from it they took much people and clothes and a vast amount of provisions and much salt. It was a pretty village between some ridges along the gorge of a great river," says Ranjel. According to Elvas: "About 40 leagues from Quiguat stood Caligua, at the foot of a mountain in the vale of a river of medium size like the Caya, a stream which passes through Estremadura." Estremadura is the name of a province of Portugal, but the name of Caya does not appear on the map, but there is a small doubt, however, that the stream was the Middle fork of Saline river. The soil was very rich, yielding corn in such profusion that old corn was thrown out of store to make room for new grain. Beans and pumpkins were in plenty, "larger

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and better than those of Spain." Elvas adds that the "pumpkins when roasted have nearly the taste of chestnuts." From Caligua "at midday they went to kill some cows of which there are very many wild ones," says Ranjel. This town was in what is now the National Forest Reservation, near the present town of Beaudry.

The Indians at Caligua told them that six leagues north were many cattle where the country, being cold, was thinly inhabited, and that to the best of their knowledge the province that was better provisioned than any other and more populous was to the south called Cayas. The chief of Caligua gave them a guide to the Cayas province. They left Caligua on Tuesday, September 6; on Wednesday they passed some mountains, evidently where the South fork of Saline river takes its rise, and came to Calpasta, where was an "excellent salt spring which distilled good salt in deposits." On Thursday, September 8, they reached Palisema, which must have been somewhere north of Hot Springs. Elvas says that at Palisema the house of the cacique was canopied with colored deer-skins with designs drawn on them, and the ground likewise was covered as if with carpets. The chief left his house in that state for the Governor's use, though he didn't dare to await his coming. The Governor sent a captain with horse and foot to look for him and, though many persons were seen owing to the roughness of the country, only a few men and boys were secured. Houses were few and scattered and corn was scarce.

Sunday they reached Quixila, where they rested over Monday. This may have been on the site of the present city of Hot Springs. Tuesday, the fifth day of their journey from Caligua, they reached Tatilcoya, which was on "a copious river which empties into the Great River." This was the Ouachita river, at some point in Garland county, southwest of Hot Springs. Here the guide led them four days' journey up stream to Cayas, which they found to be "a very rough country of hills." They camped at Tanico, which was probably situated near Cedar Glades, in Montgomery county, among the Magazine Mountains.

The province of Cayas seems by the map to be in close proximity to the province of Caligua, and the route they took in reaching Tanico is a roundabout course. This was on account of the rough-

ness of the country, the intervening mountains forming a boundary between the two provinces, and the southward trail was perhaps much easier and, though longer in the distance, shorter to travel. Besides, the travelers were totally in the hands of the Indians, who may have had reasons of their own for taking them by a roundabout way. Perhaps they didn't want their visitors to know that in Cayas they would be so near to Caligua.

Both Ranjel and Elvas state that salt was made from sand in Cayas. "The salt is made along by a river which, when the water goes down, leaves it upon the sand. As they cannot gather the salt without a large mixture of sand, it is thrown together into certain baskets they have for the purpose, made large at the mouth and small at the bottom. These are set in the air on a ridge-pole, and water being thrown on, vessels are placed under them wherein it may fall; then, being strained and placed on the fire, it is boiled away, leaving salt at the bottom," says the Gentleman of Elvas. Ranjel, after describing the same method of making, adds, "and in that way our Spaniards made excellent salt, very white and of good flavor."

They "tarried a month at Tanico in the province of Cayas." Here Elvas says the horses fattened more than anywhere else, owing to the large quantity of corn there. "Blade of it, I think, is the best fodder that grows." The beasts drank so copiously from the very warm and brackish lake that they became swollen and ill.

The Cacique of Cayas told them of a fertile province up stream called Tula. According to Elvas it was "one and a half day's journey to south of Cayas." The province of Cayas is now comprised in the Arkansas National Forest Reservation, where the Ouachita river follows a tortuous course through the Magazine Mountains, though its general direction is to the west. South of Cedar Glades (Tanico) the Ouachita river curves to the southward and then makes a sharp turn toward the northwest, so that the region of the Tulas may have been both "up stream" and in a southerly direction. Before reaching Tula they passed over some very rough hills. After a fight with the Tulas they returned through a bad passage in a vale made by the river. Later, De Soto went back with a larger force to conquer these Indians. They were the fiercest

fighters that the Spaniards met in "all Florida." Says Ranjel, "they fought with long, hard poles like lances, the ends hardened by fire, and were the best fighting people the Spaniards had met with, and they fought like desperate men, with the greatest valor in the world." "Came on us in packs by eights and tens like worried dogs," says Biedma. And Elvas: "The struggle lasted so long that the steeds, becoming tired, could not be made to run." They showed no mercy and asked none, so that it was almost impossible to take any prisoners. Finding that they were always overtaken by the mounted soldiers, the Tulas took refuge on the tops of their houses, going from roof to roof, defending with the courage of any white man the sanctity of his home and his family honor.

Evidently they lived in huts and not wigwams. Elvas says the "speech of this Cacique—like those of the other chiefs and all the messengers in their behalf who came before the Governor—no orator could more elegantly phrase." For this brave Chief also came finally before the conqueror in tears, and acknowledged his indiscretion in resisting so powerful an enemy.

From Tula they went southwest to Quipana, at the base of some very steep ridges, and near a river, reaching the town after a journey of five days "over some very sharp mountains." Ranjel says it was "between ridges of mountains near a river," and "all the country was mountainous from Tula." Elvas calls it a "very rough country." This river was the Big Mazarn creek, in the western part of Hot Springs county, which runs through a mountainous section, and the place of crossing may have been in the neighborhood of Chandler. From Tula toward the west was thinly populated—to the southeast were great towns principally in a province called Autianque, eighty leagues or ten days' journey from Tula. Near Autianque was "a great water which appeared to be an arm of the sea," which they afterwards learned was the same as the river at Cayas, the Ouachita. On the way to Autianque they passed two towns called Anoixi and Catamaya. Says Biedma, they marched "in a direction to the east, and having crossed these mountains went down some plains where we found a population suited to our purpose—a town nigh in which was much food on a copious river emptying into the Great River."

It took them twelve days to reach Autianque from Tula, on account of the roughness of the country and the fact that they had to care for their wounded, several of whom died on the way. The town of Autianque was probably near the present site of Saginaw, in Hot Springs county, south of Malvern on Ouachita river. Rangel says it was "a plain well peopled and of attractive appearance." They reached Autianque on Wednesday, November 2, and left it March 31. During this long cold winter the Spaniards learned from the Indians how to catch "conies," as they called the squirrels of those mountains. According to the Gentleman of Elvas, "they were of two sorts, one of them like that of Spain, the other of color, form and size, of the great hare, though longer even and having bigger loins." The contrivance they used for catching the conies "is a strong spring that lifts the animal off its feet, a noose being made of a stiff cord to run about the neck, passing through rings of cane that it may not be gnawed."

The winter was severe at Autianque, with "so much snow we thought to have died," says Biedma. Here Juan Ortiz died, a loss that was irreparable.

"Monday, March 5, 1542, the Governor left Autianque to seek Nilco, which the Indians said was near the Great River," with the purpose of going to the sea to recruit his forces. He had not over three hundred efficient men nor more than forty horses left of that gallant force of six hundred men and two hundred horses which had landed at Tampa Bay some three years before. Some of the horses were lame. "They had had no shoes for a year but had little need of them in a smooth country."

Ten days journey down the Ouachita river brought them to Ayays, on that river, where they crossed in a pirogue which they built. This crossing was made to avoid the Little Missouri river, which enters the Ouachita at the intersection of Dallas, Clark and Ouachita counties. The town of Ayays therefore was at this place. From Saginaw to the mouth of the Little Missouri river seems a short distance for a journey of ten days, but after the death of Juan Ortiz, their only efficient interpreter, they had to depend on an Indian youth who, in ascertaining the directions concerning the route they wished to go, would require a whole day to find out what

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Ortiz could learn in a few hours; and, more often than not, he would understand the opposite of what was intended, so that the party often had to retrace their steps after a day's journey in the wrong direction, thus losing much time.

They were now on the east bank of the Ouachita. After crossing, they traveled three days "through a desert, a region so low, so full of lakes and bad passages, that at one time for the whole day the travel lay through water up to the knees; at places in others, to the stirrups, and occasionally for a distance of a few paces, there was swimming," says Elvas. The Portuguese Gentleman uses the word *desert* to convey the idea of *deserted*.

They reached Tatilpinco, a town near the lake "which flowed copiously into the river with a violent current." It was March, which is the overflow season. They traveled all day along the margin of this lake seeking for a ford, but could discover none nor any way to get over. This must have been Two Bayou, where appear a number of small lakes. Returning to Tatilpinco, they found two friendly natives who showed them the crossing and the road, as in the overflow the marks of trails and paths are completely covered by water. They made rafts and causeways from reeds and timber of houses, and on these they crossed this river. Three days' journey from here brought them to the province of Nilco, which was plentifully supplied with stores of corn, beans, walnuts and dried persimmons. It was the "most populous country that was seen in Florida, and most abundant in maize excepting Coca and Apalache," which were east of the Great River. Nilco occupied the territory between the Salina river and Bartholomew Bayou. "The Governor sent a captain with fifty men and six canoes down the river to Guachoya, while he with the rest marched by land," and arrived here the middle of April. He took his quarters in the town of the cacique, which was palisaded, and situated "a crossbow shot" from the Mississippi. This province of Guachoya was most likely the same territory now comprised in Tensas county, Louisiana, and was separated from the province of Nilco to the northward by Bartholomew Bayou.

From Guachoya, De Soto sent a detachment to find a way southward to the sea, but they returned in eight days reporting that they

had been able to travel only fourteen or fifteen leagues in that time on account of the great bogs that come out of the river, the canebrakes and thick scrubs that were along the margin, and that they had found no inhabited spot. Then the Governor sank into a "deep despondency," seeing that he could not sustain himself in the country without succour. Before taking to his pallet he sent a messenger to the Chief of Quigaltam, on the other side of the Great River, to say that he, De Soto, was a child of the Sun, and demanding tribute. By the same messenger the chief sent a reply to the effect that he would not believe that De Soto was a child of the Sun unless he would cause the waters of the Great Rivers to dry up. He added that it was not his custom to visit any one—instead of that, all of whom he had ever heard had come to visit him and pay him tribute either voluntarily or by force. He ended with these words: "Neither for you nor for any man will I set back one foot." De Soto was at that time "very ill of fevers," and could not accept this haughty challenge as he otherwise would have done.

Opposite the Tensas shore one hundred and fifty years afterwards there lived the Natchez, who were known to the trailmakers of that time as very fierce and warlike Indians. No doubt these of Quigaltam were the progenitors of the Natchez.

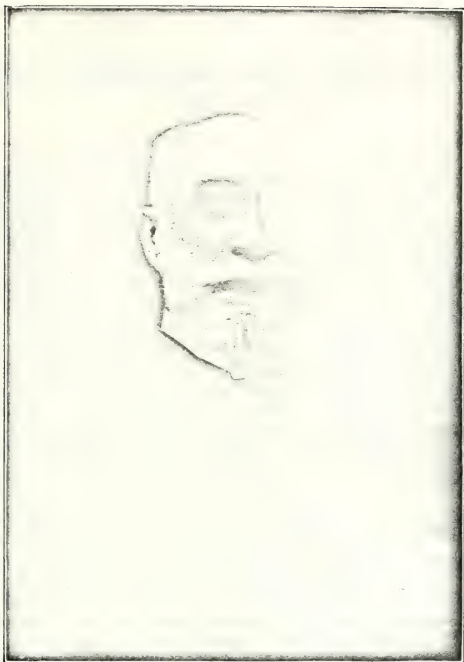
At Guachoya, on May 21, 1542, died Don Hernando de Soto, Governor of Florida, after naming Don Luis de Moscoso as his successor in command of the expedition and Governor of Florida until the King would make a permanent appointment. After his burial in the Great River, De Soto's effects were sold at auction among the members of the expedition. "For each slave or horse was given two or three thousand cruzados, to be paid at the first melting up of gold or silver, or division of vassals and territory, with the obligation that should there be nothing found in the country the payment should be made at the end of a year, those having no property to pledge to give their bond. A hog brought in the same way trusted, 200 cruzados. Those who had left anything at home bought more sparingly and took less than the others," on the principle, presumably, that he who has nothing can lose nothing. De Soto's property consisted of two male and three female slaves, three horses and seven hundred swine.

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Thus Guachoya, besides being distinguished as the place of De Soto's death and picturesque burial, is also notable as the scene of the first slave market on the North American continent.

Under Moscoso's leadership the Spaniards decided to find a way to the sea toward the west, and on June 5 they started back the way they had come, following the Ouachita river at least a part of the way. Their wanderings during the next year are chronicled only by Biedma and Elvas, the first named devoting only two pages to what must have been a year of dreadful privations. Lacking the directions and dates of Ranjel, one is left only the narrative given by the Portuguese gentleman, who becomes less and less explicit as their difficulties increased. There is, consequently, scarcely enough data for even an approximate account of their travels. It seems an unquestionable fact, however, that they reached the valley of the Saline river in southwest Arkansas, (which is not the same Saline river of the Magazine Mountains eastward of the Ouachita), and here they found more salt. So many difficulties beset their passage that they finally decided to return to Nilco, there to make preparations to journey down the Great River to the sea. On reaching Nilco, they found the natives had no crops nor supplies for them, but they were told of Aminoya, a plentiful land to the north of Nilco, whither they went and found besides plenty of corn and fodder, suitable timber for building the brigantines they needed. Aminoya was probably in Desha or Chicot county, Arkansas. In June, 1543, they left Aminoya, and after many vicissitudes and privations succeeded in reaching Panuco, on the coast of Mexico, a sad looking crew, ragged and barefoot, totally unlike the brilliant company which had sailed from Cuba four years before.

In the eyes of the world, De Soto's expedition into Florida was regarded as a failure, but in view of its achievement, history has accorded him a prominent niche in its hall of fame.



Thomas W. Ricketts

Rhode Island: Boston the Preparatory School for Aquidneck

BY THOMAS WILLIAMS BICKNELL, LL.D., PROVIDENCE, R. I.*



THE peculiar circumstances and events that preceded and attended the founding of the Colony of Rhode Island, on Aquidneck, are singular in nature and of fascinating interest. As the story will show, the whole body of people who were the original settlers on Rhode Island migrated from England to make homes in the Bay Colony. Most of them, perhaps all, had no thought of establishing a new settlement outside the Bay, and made Boston their home, by purchasing land, owning farms, building houses, becoming freemen, engaging in business and taking an active part in all industries incident to founding a new seaport town,—the metropolis of the colonial life and business of New England. For eight years, the future Rhode Island colonists were engaged, mind and soul, in all the interests and industries and activities of this new town. They were leaders in Church and State,—founders of Boston and the Bay Colony, in the largest and truest sense.

In March, 1638, a strange event occurred,—the most marvellous and the most momentous in the early history of the Bay Colony. It was no less than the expulsion of a large group of the most intelligent, the most influential, the wealthiest citizens, freemen, office-holders, church and society workers of Boston. More than sixty families,—over 300 souls,—owning lands and houses in Boston, conducting important businesses, and related by many strong ties to all the affairs of the town and Colony, were driven in the wintry season to depart from the town they had helped to found, into a cruel exile,—whither,—only a wise and overruling Providence could know or determine. A cruel fate attended the expulsion of the

*From advance sheets of "History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations," by Thomas Williams Bicknell, LL.D., (The American Historical Society).

BOSTON THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL FOR AQUIDNECK

Huguenots from France,—cruel alike to both parties. Volumes have been written on the forced exile of the Pilgrims from Lincolnshire to Leyden. The banishment of Roger Williams from Massachusetts has been the ground of debate of thousands of apologists and Puritan defenders. The poet Longfellow, in "Evangeline," has given a limited immortality to the forcible transfers of the Acadian Colony to a Southern clime. From Boston to Aquidneck was a shorter journey, with a most successful conclusion for Democracy and Soul Liberty. This chapter reveals the story in part, illustrating the Old World Dream, translated into a New World Realism. A Colony of loyal men and women were banished. A new state arose, dedicated to Civil and Religious Liberty, named RHODE ISLAND.

Liberty of person, of estates, and of all just rights, has always been a strong passion of the Anglo Saxon race and mind. The wresting of the rights and liberties of an English subject from the hands of King John, in Magna Charter, was a part only of a series of concessions of royal prerogatives, secured by the demands of the common people. The colonization of North America, in the seventeenth century, found its source and inspiration in the love of and the demand for a larger measure of civil and religious freedom than was then possessed by the English people. The great middle class of Britain had absorbed the doctrines of the Reformation and their minds had become thoroughly saturated with the teachings and idealism of the Old and New Testament Scriptures, including the freedom moving events of the Apocrypha, then an integral part of the Protestant Bible. Slowly, with the introduction of parts or the whole of the newly published Bible, the homes of the English people became schools of religious study, and often of theological debate. The history and doctrines of the Bible were matters of daily conversation in the homes, on the streets, in the market places, and in political and social circles. Large portions of the Bible were committed to memory. A divine infallible book was worth more than fallible priests and human literature. The voice of God was an authority far superior to the orders of the Bishop or the canons of the church. The Hebrew invasion of England not only gave new life to liberty loving people of the British

Isles, but inspired a new literature, and to ardent minds, instinct with reform, it suggested new ideals in leadership and new fields for operation, as Canaan was the outcome of Egyptian bondage. The new love for the Old Testament nomenclature led parents to reject Pagan or royal names for the Hebrew. The English records are flooded with Old Testament names from Adam and Eve, through Noah, Methusaleh, Moses and Aaron, to Kerenhappuch and Mahershalalhashbaz. Moses, David, Isaiah, Jesus and Paul, were familiar characters of daily study. Hume says, "Cromwell hath beat up his drums clean through the Old Testament—you may learn the genealogy of our Saviour by the names in his regiment. The muster-master uses no other list than the first chapter of Matthew."

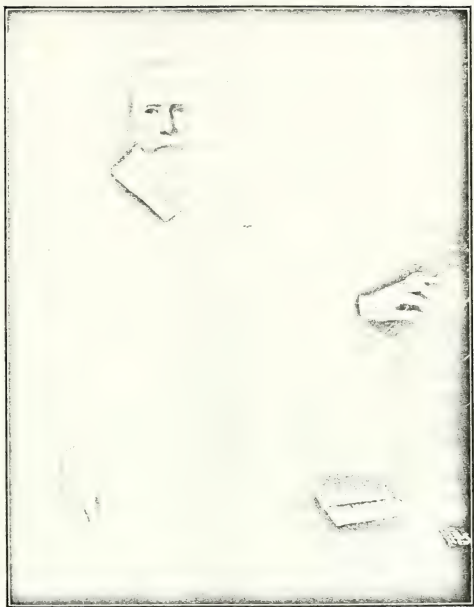
It is no wonder then that civil freedom became the waking dream of common English folks, and that freedom in thought and worship, as revealed in the Old Testament in the Hebrew Commonwealth and in the New Testament, and in the sublime democracy of Jesus, should become the two most powerful and far-reaching forces that entered into sixteenth century English thought and life. From the opened Bible, were the new ideas as to religion and government. John Milton was a most faithful interpreter of the Puritan conception of the new revelation, reviving, in enduring historic verse, the visions of Dante and the literalism of the Church Fathers. As an inspired book, every page, every line, every word of the Bible was inspired and received a literal interpretation. An eternal Heaven with its blessedness had its anticlimax in an eternal Hell with its awfulness. The daily contemplation of religious themes and eternal issues gave to the Puritans a sober, an austere, almost a tragic character. Every event of life was by the Divine will and foreknowledge. "The chief end of man was to glorify God and to enjoy him forever." Macaulay says, "The Puritan was made up of two different men. The one all self-abasement, penitence, gratitude, passion; the other proud, calm, inflexible, sagacious. He prostrated himself in the dust before his Maker; but he set his foot on the neck of his king." In his great eulogium, the great Englishman calls the Puritans the most remarkable body of men which the world has ever produced. And these were Bible-made men.

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The Hebrew Commonwealth became the study of the Puritan leaders. God was its law-giver, its governor, its judge. What nobler idealism can be conceived for a state than to have the Supreme Ruler of the Universe as its founder, His laws as their rule of action, His guidance as a Providential director and governor, His benediction as final judge. To the individual or collective Puritan, in England, or America, God's presence was real, not a fiction, and his over-ruling power translated trials into blessings, and made the rough and crooked paths of life seem smooth and straight.

Mr. Williams named his first resting place, Providence, as Jacob had ages before called his Peniel, and as late as 1842, the Puritan spirit still inhered in the statesmen of Rhode Island, in the making of the State Constitution, under which we now live. The preamble reads: "We, the people of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, grateful to Almighty God for the civil and religious liberty which he hath so long permitted us to enjoy, and looking to Him for a blessing upon our endeavor to secure and transmit the same unimpaired to succeeding generations, do ordain and establish this Constitution of government:" 1. In truth, the Hebrew concept of a Divine Governor, which inspired Williams and Clarke as Puritan leaders, still lives.

Possession of a people, newly-born into the life of the Spirit of Liberty, Democracy was coming to be esteemed a divine right of the Commons, as Monarchy had been and was then regarded by the Aristocracy as the divine right of the King; the right of the people to choose their own rulers and make their own laws was only harking back to the days of the Witenagemot when manhood was sovereignty. Then Britons did not need to study the Democracy of the Greek Agora and of the Roman Forum, for their own fathers had practised in the arts of freemen in the forests of Germany and on the shores of the North Sea in ages past. As to soul-liberty, the most sacred and universal of natural human rights, every sword of persecution drawn, and every fagot lighted at the stake, was the harsh act of tyranny against the essential, the eternal truth, that the soul of man must ever be free to choose, love and worship.



SUPPOSED PORTRAIT OF DR. JOHN CLARKE
Founder of the Aquidneck Grant
From an oil painting

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England of the seventeenth century was a Church-State, as is England of the twentieth. The new birth of a great body of the people to the ideas of a broader civil freedom and church independency, inaugurated the Pilgrim church, the exile in Holland, and the settlement of the Plymouth (Mass.) Colony in 1620. Another body of Englishmen, agreeing in large measure with the Pilgrims as to a Democratic State, but still adhering to the traditional Church-State idea, organized another colonial plan, under the title of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in America. These people were styled Puritans and were as bitterly hated by the Church-State of England as were the Pilgrims.

John Fiske says of the Puritans: "Their principal reason for coming to New England was their dissatisfaction with the way in which affairs were managed in the old country. They wished to bring about a reform in the Church in such wise that the members of a congregation should have more voice than formerly in the church government, and that the minister of each congregation should be more independent than formerly of the bishop and civil government. . . . Finding the resistance to their reforms quite formidable in England, and having some reason to fear that they might themselves be crushed in the struggle, they crossed the ocean in order to carry out their ideas in a new and remote land, where they might be comparatively secure from interference."

The Puritan State came into being in New England, when Governor John Winthrop, leading an English colony of 800 settlers, landed at Naumkeag, now Salem, Mass., in June, 1630. On that date, Plymouth Colony had 300 settlers, and Winthrop found 300 at Salem who had settled at that port since 1628. In 1630 the total colonial population of New England did not exceed 1,400. The keynote of the Puritan enterprise is found in a noble and tender farewell letter of Gov. John Winthrop and his official associates, "to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England," written on the ship *Arbella*, at Yarmouth, April 7, 1630. That they were not *Separatists* as were the Plymouth colonists, is expressed in the sentence, "Who esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we arise, our dear mother; and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much

sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts.' Among the names of signers of this letter of loyalty to the English Church-State appears the name of William Coddington, who, later, figures so large in the history of the Colony of Rhode Island.

The same sentiment towards the English Church and State was expressed by Rev. Francis Higginson, who came to Salem in 1628, with the Endicott colonists: "We will not say, as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, 'Farewell Babylon, farewell Rome,' but we will say 'farewell dear England,' farewell the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there.

. . . We go to practice the positive part of Church reformation, and to propagate the Gospel in America." All the founders of the colonies of Providence Plantations and of Rhode Island were originally residents in and in most cases freemen of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. As the founding of both the Colonies on Narragansett Bay was due to sharp differences between these founders and the policy and government of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, it seems wise to state at the outset the principles and policy of the Puritan State of the Bay.

The Massachusetts company was an organized government, whose field of operations and colonial powers were clearly defined by the royal Patent granted by Charles I., under date of March 4th, 1628-9. Corporation meetings were held, officers elected and various business transacted in England. The chief officers were a Governor, a Deputy Governor, a Treasurer and eighteen Assistants, to be elected from time to time by the major vote of the freemen of the company. Matthew Craddock was the first Governor. The above named officers constituted THE GENERAL COURT, which usually met, while in England, at the House of the Deputy Governor. The General Court legislated for the company and could by major vote enlarge the body of freemen. At one of the meetings held in England it was voted to elect two clergymen as freemen in order that their prayer might "sanctifye" their proceedings, as the end of their mission was "chiefly the glory of God." The settlement at Salem, under John Endicott and Rev. Francis Higginson, in 1628,

was made by the Company of the Massachusetts Bay. Before the departure of the Company for New England, John Winthrop was elected Governor and William Coddington an Assistant.

In 1630, the whole Bay Company was transplanted bodily from England to Salem. As Mr. Lodge has said, "It was the migration of a people, not the mere setting forth of colonists or adventurers." Most of the families were wealthy; many held high social rank; all were well educated for their time; most were members of the Church of England, from which it was a sore trial for them to separate themselves. These people, nicknamed Puritans at home, crossed the sea for four chief reasons:

First—To establish homes and a new social order in New England.

Second—To establish a reformed State-Church.

Third—To establish a reformed Church-State.

Fourth—To carry the Christian faith into foreign parts to save a Pagan people.

It is easy to see that a choice body of men and women were demanded for such an enterprise, involving as it did the reform of Anglo-American society throughout. It certainly required the sifting of kingdoms to find the seed for such planting. The Bay Company owned all the lands within its Patents by royal consent. The Indian rights of occupancy, as tenants at will, were dissolved by agreement or purchase. The qualification of a freeman was based on church membership. Property rights and civil government were thus in the absolute control of the Bay Colonists. Two sources of danger were constant. One was the interference of the Crown with the vested rights of the Colony. The second was the incoming and intrusion of men and women whose acts and influence seemed subversive of the policy of the Puritan Commonwealth. As self-preservation is the first law of states as well as of individuals, we must exercise large consideration and great charity for a people setting up a new government in the wilderness, as well as for those, who, differing from them in matters of opinion or practise, entered reasonable protests against their public policy and accepted separation and exile in preference to conformity to Puritanism, as interpreted by Wilson, Winthrop and Endicott. The Puritan ship of

state was outward bound, on a voyage on new and uncharted seas. Her officers and crew were inexperienced in sea-craft; strange would it have been, had not her passengers, in narrow straits and in threatening storms, advised and urged new courses with furling of sails. Stranger still, if in the peril of the hour, the officers had not, in sheer desperation, set on shore, in desert places, the leaders in incipient mutiny. The figure suggests what is to follow:

Between 1630 and 1638, the Bay Colony, with its chief seat at Boston, had more than doubled its population. Boston furnished an excellent harbor for the passenger-bearing vessels. Among the arrivals we find the names of the following persons who shared in founding the two Rhode Island Colonies: William Coddington, Roger Williams, William Harris, William and Benedict Arnold, William and Anne Hutchinson, William Baulston, Samuel Wilbour, Henry Bull, Randall Holden, John Clarke, Samuel Gorton, John Coggeshall, Edward Hutchinson, John Sanford, William and Mary Dyer, William Aspinwall, John Porter, Philip Sherman, William Brenton, Robert Harding, Nicholas Easton, Thomas Savage and others.

Concerning Rev. William Blackstone, a dweller at Boston, who invited Gov. Winthrop and his fellows to settle on the Peninsula, and who in 1634 became the first permanent white settler on Providence Plantations, we have already written. To Mr. Williams and the reasons for his exile another chapter will be devoted. In this chapter, we propose to show what Boston and the Bay Colony did in preparing Clarke, Coddington, the Hutchinsons, Bull and others for founding the Colony of Rhode Island on Aquidneck.

In order to participate in affairs civil or ecclesiastical in the Puritan Colony, it was necessary to become a freeman, by joining the colonial church, which was organized at Cambridge, Mass., August, 1630. This State-Church was not the English church of ordinances, ceremonials and vestments, presided over by a priesthood appointed by bishops and directed by canons and synods. It was a simple, democratic institution, adopting its own covenant and articles of faith and electing its own clergy by a major vote of the membership. The order was called Congregationalism,—a cult con-

temporaneous with Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. Each church was an independent organism, recognizing Jesus Christ as its only leader and acknowledged Governor. In such a church, free from most of the forms of the Episcopal Church of England, the membership came into the practical exercise of individual rights, in affairs spiritual. This was a school of freedom and equality.

So far as can be ascertained all the adult members of the Rhode Island Colony were, at the time of their separation from the Bay Colony, members of some one of the Puritan churches of the Bay Colony,—most were in good standing in the Boston church, of which Rev. John Wilson and Rev. John Cotton were pastors.

As freemen, the males were invested with the right of voting for all civil officers and affairs and of holding any civil office. All civil officers were elected at stated times by the major vote of the freemen. The annual town meeting was the occasion for the freeman to exercise the new privilege of choosing his rulers in town and Colony, and in making the laws which should be observed in both. Here, at Boston, in this first school of freemen, the founders of Aquidneck learned and practised their first lessons in democratic government. As members of the First Church, it may be safely assumed that they were a people of godly walk and conversation,—not mischief makers, nor disturbers of the peace of the town. That they intended to make the Bay Colony their permanent home is evident from the facts of land ownership, erection of comfortable houses, businesses engaged in, clearing the lands for gardens and farms, etc., etc. While the freemen were thus engaged, their wives and daughters set the standards of economy and social and intellectual life. We may believe that popular amusements were few and that the household duties of house-wives in a new town in the wilds were most laborious and engrossing, yet we may imagine that afternoon teas and quiltings did afford privileges of social acquaintance and true fellowship quite as substantial and soul-satisfying as the more elaborate, costly and fashionable modes of social intercourse of the twentieth century, in the metropolis of New England. These old-time Boston men and women of 1630-38 had their hands full of hard work, their minds full of new thoughts and contrivings, and their hearts full of human interest and achievement. This school

of free thought and action, on the shores of Massachusetts Bay, was a grand preparation through experience, hardship, discipline, courage, faith, for later and more vigorous duties and responsibilities awaiting them below the horizon of their daily vision and expectation, in a new field of action, in Narragansett Bay.

The founding of a well ordered seaport town, like Boston,—the port of entry and exit of all the commerce of that day, was a matter of no small importance, and our future founders of Newport and Portsmouth had their first experience there in shaping municipal affairs. In the first board of ten selectmen of Boston, we find the names of William Coddington, John Coggeshall and William Brenton. In 1636, the names of William Hutchinson, John Coggeshall, John Sanford, William Aspinwall, William Brenton and William Balston appear as fathers of the town, one-half of the board. In 1637, the future settlers at Aquidneck had a majority of one in the town government. This was the last year of their residence in Boston,

In the higher and more responsible offices of the Bay Colony our future founders of Rhode Island bore a conspicuous and honorable part. Of the General Court, the legislative body of the Colony, William Coddington was a member from 1630 to 1638. As an Assistant to the Governor, he was elected by the freemen in 1629, 1630, 1632 to 1638. He filled the office of Colonial Treasurer for three years, 1634-5 and 6. In 1636, Mr. Coddington was chosen a judge to preside over courts in Boston, Dorchester, Weymouth and Hingham. In 1635, Mr. Coddington was chosen a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, with the Governor, Deputy Governor, John Winthrop, John Endicott and other chief citizens of the colony. He was also on a committee with Gov. Winthrop to fix the conditions of settlement at Andover. In 1637, he was chosen one of a committee of five to adjust matters relative to the soldiers sent to Block Island. Thus Mr. Coddington was a public officer in the Colony for more than eight years, filling the most responsible offices, by the choice of the people and the General Court. He was also a merchant and built the first brick house in the town of Boston.

William Brenton, a cofounder of Boston and Aquidneck, was chosen to superintend the building of a House of Correction in Bos-

ton, in 1634, the year he was made a freeman. He was a selectman of Boston in 1634-5-6-7. In 1635, he was appointed on a committee to consider what action should be taken with John Endicott of Salem in defacing the English flag by cutting out the cross. The same year he was appointed to furnish "at the public charge" all that was needed at the prison in Boston. He was elected a Deputy from Boston to the General Court in 1635-6-7.

John Coggeshall was a silk merchant of Boston. He was made a freeman Nov. 6, 1632; was elected a deacon of the First Church in 1634, holding the office until his removal to Aquidneck. In 1634 and 1636, he was a Boston selectman, and in 1634-5-6-7, a Deputy from Boston in the General Court. In 1634, he gave £5 towards the seafort, was chosen overseer of public ammunition, and in 1635 was chosen Commissioner of Commerce for Boston, and was elected as a tax assessor for the Colony.

William and Anne Hutchinson arrived in Boston in 1634, joining the First Church with four children,—Richard, Francis, Faith and Bridget,—the same year. Two sons, Edward and Elisha, and possibly a third, George, were already at Boston, on the arrival of their parents. William Hutchinson had a grant, not long after his arrival, of the site now known as the "Old Corner Bookstore," which then extended from Washington street, on the north side of School, to the City Hall lot. Governor Thomas Hutchinson of the Bay Colony was the great-grandson of William and Anne Hutchinson, through son Elisha and grandson Thomas. Major Thomas, founder of the Savage family in America, representative, speaker and assistant, noted as a staunch soldier and Indian fighter, married Faith Hutchinson, from whom came James Savage, the great analyst of New England Genealogy.

William Hutchinson was elected twice as a selectman of Boston, served two years as a Deputy from Boston in the General Court, and with William Coddington was a Judge in the County Court. Both, besides their Boston property, had large farms at Mt. Wollaston. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson acted as physician, advisor and midwife to Boston mothers.

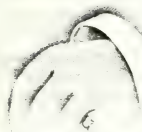
Many other names of Aquidneck founders are found among the recorded lists of church members, freemen, officeholders and busi-

ness men of Boston. The evidence is conclusive that these men and their associates obtained valuable training and experience in the Boston school for freemen, which fitted them to become the founders of a new commonwealth.

Another factor of great value in a new civil life is the family tie and relations. At Boston, acquaintances were made, as they nowhere else can be, in a new society in the wilderness. Pioneer life makes strong and abiding friendships. Common hardships and joys are chains of steel, which never break. Large families also have a strong binding power, uniting whole communities in numberless ways.

William Coddington had thirteen children; William Hutchinson, seven; Joseph Clark, brother of Dr. John Clark, ten; Robert Carr, six; Richard Borden, ten; Caleb Carr, eleven; John Coggeshall, eleven; John Briggs, six; John Craudell, nine; John Cranston, ten; George Gardiner, fourteen; William Harris, thirteen; Randall Holden, eleven; William Brenton, eight. Boston men and women were certainly making wise provision for an unforeseen venture,—a new plantation. Race suicide was not a crime of the foremothers.

Much more could be written of the important services, individual and collective, of the Aquidneck settlers in the founding of Boston, during the first eight years of the development of social order, civil government and a church of the Puritan faith. It must be clear to all that they shared the highest honors and posts of service of the town and colony with Winthrop, Endicott, Bradstreet, Bellingham, Dudley and Saltenstall. Their experiences in all the various offices and functions gave them the exercise of their varied talents in civil and ecclesiastical concerns, and to judge of the excellency and defects in organization and administration. The lessons thus learned in their practical daily life were inwrought in their civic thought and consciousness, and became their guide in the establishment of a new state. "Magistracy" under law was the keynote in the structure of the English State. It held the same vital position in the Puritan Commonwealth of the Bay and later in the new Colony soon to be planted in the midst of Narragansett Bay. Historian Arnold says: "Their plans were more matured at the outset



Moses Greeley Parker M. D.

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than those of the Providence settlers. To establish a Colony independent of every other was their avowed intention, and the organization of a regular government was their initial step."

Few events in New England history are so sublimely trying as the rending of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in 1638, when more than sixty families,—and more than 300 persons—composing a Colony three times the size of the Pilgrim Colony at Plymouth, in 1620, were "dismissed" and summarily sent forth into cruel exile, in the midst of wintry weather, on stormy seas, to find a hitherto unknown harbor of shelter among savage beasts and savage men. Let us direct our thoughts to the issue, fraught with such tremendous and far-reaching results to both parties.

The first four years of Boston history—1630-1634—was a period of social and civic acquaintance and adjustment. Protection from local perils and the safeguarding of colonial rights of franchise, made social, political and even religious unity an absolute necessity. A hostile home government in England might at any moment, and without just cause, put an end to local government and make the political life of Boston people more burdensome than it had been the land of their birth, while a hostile Indian raid might at any moment, by torch and tomahawk wipe out the infant Colony. In union alone was safety.

The next four years—1634-1638—constitute an era of differentiation and separation, singularly enough, along lines of the most abstruse religious thought and denominational cleavage, involving under the hard and obscure title, the Antinomian Controversy, the most vital elements of civil and social liberty. By reason of it, Boston became the storm-center of New England, not only of sharp debate, but of deep-seated and violent hatred, causing divisions of families and social circles, business estrangements, political animosities, church excommunications and colonial banishments.

Concerning this remarkable mental and spiritual phenomenon, which stirred the whole New England pioneer life to its deepest depths, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, late president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, writes as follows: "In its essence, that controversy (Antinomian) was a great deal more than a religious dispute; it was the first of the many New England quicken-

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ings in the direction of social, intellectual and political developments,—New England's earliest protest against formulas. . . . It was designed by no one. No one at the time realized its significance. It was to that community just what the first questioning of an active mind is to a child brought up in the strictest observance of purely conventional forms. . . . They represented the ideas of extreme civil liberty and religious toleration. . . . The issue between religious toleration and a compelled theological conformity, was, as a matter of established policy, then to be decided. It was, and the decision lasted through five generations. . . . For good or evil, it committed Massachusetts to a policy of strict religious conformity. . . . The domination of 1637 was not disturbed or seriously shaken until the era of the Unitarian movement under Channing, in 1819."

Anne Hutchinson was the leading spirit in this strife of tongues, and this home of Anne and William Hutchinson, occupying the site of "The Old Corner Book Store," Boston, was the place and scene of the most ardent discussions that ever exercised the minds, influenced the judgments and determined the acts of the whole body of the young metropolis.

The Hutchinson family left Boston, Old England, in July, and landed in Boston, New England, in the autumn of 1634. William Hutchinson, a man of good blood and a fair estate, was grandson of John Hutchinson, a former Lord-Mayor of the city of Lincoln, England. Anne, his wife, was the daughter of Rev. Francis and Bridget (Dryden) Marbury, of London. The mother, Bridget, was sister of Sir Erasmus Dryden, Baronet, grandfather of the poet Dryden. Her sister, Catharine Marbury, was the wife of Mr. Richard Scott, who settled at Providence.

The Rev. John Cotton, pastor of St. Botolph's Church in Boston, the favorite minister and teacher of the Hutchinsons, had removed to Boston, New England, in 1633, and had become the associate minister to Rev. John Wilson, pastor of the First Church of the Bay. Mr. Cotton's liberal teachings in the home church had endeared their relations, and his personality was a strong magnet to draw the Hutchinsons to Boston, the following year.

The Hutchinsons, parents and children, at once joined the Puri-

tan Church of Boston, and entered heartily into all the active life of the new town. Mrs. Hutchinson, a woman of fine social qualities and the mother of a large brood of children, soon became an influential factor in society, and as nurse, physician and midwife, a benefactor and friend to all the families in Boston.

Governor Winthrop calls Mrs. Hutchinson a woman "of a ready wit and bold spirit," and her husband, "a man of very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife." Rev. Thomas Weld, the most bitter enemy of both, tells us that the wife was "a woman of a haughty and fierce carriage, of a nimble wit and active spirit, and a very voluble tongue, more bold than a man, though in judgment and understanding inferior to many women."

It is more than probable that Mr. Weld's opinion was shaped somewhat by the lashings of Mrs. Hutchinson's voluble tongue.

The historian Palfrey speaks of Mrs. Hutchinson as "a capable and resolute woman," and "a kind and serviceable neighbor, especially to persons of her own sex in times of sickness; and by these qualities united with her energy of character and vivacity of mind, she acquired esteem and influence." Gov. Arnold calls her "a woman of great intellectual endowments and of masculine energy, to whom even her enemies ascribed unusual powers, styling her 'the masterpiece of woman's wit,' and describing her as 'a gentlewoman of an haughty carriage, a busy spirit, competent wit and a voluble tongue,' who, by a remarkable union of charity, devotion and ability, soon became the leader, not only of her own sex, but of a powerful party in the state and church, so that her opponents have termed her, by a species of anagrammatic wit 'the Nonesuch,' was Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, the founder and champion of the Antinomian 'heresy.'"

Equally complimentary are the opinions of Bancroft, Adams and Dr. Ellis. Bancroft calls her "a woman of such admirable understanding, that her enemies could never speak of her without acknowledging her eloquence and ability." Mr. Adams says she possessed "a strong religious instinct, and a remarkably well-developed controversial talent, wonderfully endowed with the indescribable quality known as magnetism." Dr. Ellis estimates her as "a pure and excellent woman, to whose person and conduct there at-

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taches no stain . . . of a high spirit, and gifted in argument and speech."

Here, evidently, is a woman of vision, of power, of passion, of mental vigor and clearness, and of moral and spiritual convictions. She is strong enough in her own right to set at naught the traditions of men as to a woman's sphere in the church and in the civil society, who opens her house once and often twice a week for a meeting of Boston women to discuss the live questions of church and state. She goes even further and invites the men of Boston to sit with the women, in this first open Forum in America, or of its kind in the world, to discuss the topics of supreme moment, as seen in that early day. It is not a school of tattlers or scandalmongers, but of serious Puritans, debating serious concerns, and a most serious and high-souled woman presides and sets the keynote for the thinking body of town folks, who crowd her "large and commodious home." Mrs. Hutchinson had won her way into the hearts of Boston society by her sympathetic and helpful services as midwife to young mothers and a domestic physician and nurse to the sick of both sexes. Boston society responds quickly to her invitations to her house and hospitality. But readiest of all, Boston lends a quick ear to her discussion of magistrates and town government, to her views of household economics and child training, and most earnestly to her views of religious doctrines and discipline as taught and administered by Rev. John Wilson and Rev. John Cotton, the ministers of the First Church.

In matters of religion and theology, Anne Hutchinson was a seer, a prophetess, "a Daniel, come to judgment." Three great spiritual concepts possessed her. She believed that the human soul could and did hold close communion with the Divine Over-Soul. She believed in direct, special revelations from the Divine to the human—from God to her own soul. She also believed in a spiritual justification of the soul of man, with God, through Faith. She clearly and fearlessly declared herself a teacher of the doctrine of Justification through Faith, rather than of sanctification through works; the Covenant of Faith rather than of good works. These doctrines constituted substantially what was styled "Antinomianism," an



obscure word and of little value in our day, except as an historic relic in the museum of antiquated theology.

Mrs. Hutchinson's intensely practical temper led her to make application of her teachings to her own church and its ministers. She openly asserted and constantly affirmed that Rev. John Wilson was only a cold formalist, living in and teaching "The Covenant of Works." So far did she carry her dislike to the doctrine and its teachers, that she would walk out of the meeting house whenever Mr. Wilson and others of his thinking began to preach, and many, of like belief with herself, followed her example. Her favorite teacher, Rev. John Cotton, was to her mind, a true disciple in "The Covenant of Grace," as was Rev. John Wheelwright, her brother-in-law, the minister of the church at Braintree, Mass. Mrs. Hutchinson's kindly spirit and generous services had won the hearts of the people of Boston. Her earnest arguments, clothed in winning words, won their intellectual assent and cordial adherence, so much so that the audiences at her Thursday afternoon meetings were larger than those at the First Church on Sundays. The leading men of Boston as well as the women, became adherents to her teachings, and at one time all but five members of the First Church claimed to be her followers. Among them were William Coddington, Sir Harry Vane, Governor, and the whole of the Aquidneck delegation. Gov. Winthrop stood with Rev. John Wilson in opposition to Mrs. Hutchinson. Outside of Boston, the ministry was unanimously opposed to her doctrines and teachings, and when she declared the clergy of The Bay Colony to be "cold formalists," "dead, without a name to live," "whited sepulchres," "hypocrites," "false teachers," etc., etc., they felt that, unless this new sectarian was silenced, their holy craft was in great danger of an ignominious overthrow, and that downfall would be due to a woman! Was not the colony a theocracy? Was not God's Word the rule of life in the new state? Was not the ministry the interpreters and teachers of that Word? Shall Heresy be allowed to destroy a Puritan Commonwealth? Shall the ministry, the church, the theocracy, the new order of statehood, go down under the assaults of a feminine foe "whose tongue was as a sword and her sex a shield?"

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The voice of the clergy of the Bay Colony was almost as the voice of one man in an emphatic determination to put down this persistent advocate of adjudged pestilential and heretical doctrines. Rev. John Cotton and Rev. John Wheelwright aligned themselves with the Antinomian cause, although, in the case of Mr. Cotton, his attitude was later changed to one of opposition to his former English parishioner and favorite.

For four years,—1634-1638—Mrs. Hutchinson had taught a new Revelation as to Church and State. In the midst of much debate that, in our time, seems incoherent and meaningless, this new school emphasized certain great, essential principles of modern Democracy, or what Mr. Lodge calls at that age liberal Puritanism. The open Forum at the Hutchinsons was none other than the free and untrammelled debate of the New England town meeting, in which John Adams tells us our liberties were first asserted and assured. Liberty of thought and speech were not only claimed as the right of freemen, but was fully illustrated and confirmed. But liberty of thought and expression is only another name for Religious Liberty, and it is not too much to affirm that in the Hutchinson School there was, for three years, the most absolute exercise of Religious Freedom, as a basic principle of a Free State.

Still more, the larger conception of a Free Commonwealth was evolved, in which all classes of people—clergy and laity, the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlearned,—stood as equals before the law, with rights as to life, liberty and justice, unabridged, except as forfeited by crime, or lost by incompetency. It is difficult to construct a broader platform in concerns civil, social, economical and religious, than we find claimed, advocated and for a brief time enjoyed, in the Hutchinson Free State, at the corner of Washington and School streets, Boston, in the Bay Colony, 1634-1638. Even the claimants for the rights of man, irrespective of sex, may assume Anne Hutchinson of Boston as their leader and first great advocate and practitioner, so far as the conditions of her time made such claims and practise valid.

Rev. John Wheelwright, minister to the Congregational church at Braintree, born at Alford, Lincolnshire, 1592, was a non-conformist preacher, learned and eloquent, and withal a defender of "The

Covenant of Grace." On a Fast Day in January, 1637, he delivered what Mr. Adams calls "the most momentous sermon ever preached from the American pulpit." The sermon was a masterly defence of "The Covenant of Grace," as taught by Mrs. Hutchinson and himself, "against pagans and anti-Christians, and those that runne under a Covenant of Works." It was a bold affirmation of a spiritual faith in opposition to a worldly, unspiritual orthodoxy. In March, 1637, the General Court declared Mr. Wheelwright guilty of contempt and sedition, deferred the sentence, and changed the seat of government to Cambridge, as Boston was in full sympathy with the accused minister. Troublous days are on at Boston. The spring election turned on the issue as to "The Covenants,"—orthodoxy triumphed. Governor Vane was defeated. Coddington failed of an election as an Assistant, and all of Mrs. Hutchinson's adherents on the general ticket were defeated. Fisticuffs were engaged in by the most devout, and Pastor Wilson climbed a tree to harangue the voters, all of whom were church members. Vane soon went back to England. Coddington was elected a Deputy to the General Court from Boston, as were William Aspinwall and John Coggeshall. Rev. John Cotton saw a new light in the election returns and was "won over to an uncompromising orthodoxy." Winthrop, Governor, and Endicott, Dudley, Bellingham, Bradstreet, Saltonstall and others of the orthodox party sat in the "Seats of the Mighty." In the spring election of 1637 in the Bay Colony the hands on the time piece of Progress and Spiritual Enfranchisement were set back into the twilight hours and the pendulum ceased to beat.

August 30, 1637, the first Cambridge Synod of Magistrates and Ministers met at Newtown, and before it Mrs. Anne Hutchinson was summoned to answer to eighty-two "erroneous opinions" cherished and taught in her school at Boston. Single-handed and alone she withstood the assaults and answered the questionings of this large lay and clerical court, nearly all of whose numbers were hostile to the defendant. To those who care to read the celebrated polemic dialogue, reference is made to "Antinomianism in Massachusetts Bay Colony" by Charles Francis Adams. As was to be expected, Mrs. Hutchinson was heard and condemned by the Synod after a

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session of twenty-four days, and her case was referred to the Great and General Court of the Colony as well as to the church of which she was a member, for such discipline as those bodies might see fit to exercise.

The session of the General Court of the Bay Colony in November, 1637, was an event of mighty significance in the annals of American History—probably greater than any that has since succeeded, for in and by it the magistrates declared various opinions heretical and also voted banishment to a large body of the most eminent and valuable citizens of Boston and other Colonial towns. As a result of such action and the forcible migration of this class of people, new towns were established in Northern and Southern New England and a new Colony was created on Aquidneck in Narragansett Bay, which embodied in its primal acts the principles of Civil and Religious Liberty, against whose establishment at Boston, the orthodox party of the Bay Colony, led by Governor John Winthrop, had so strenuously and successfully set themselves. "The Lord brethren" of Boston had shown themselves the lineal descendants of the Bishops of the mother land, and the several acts of scission made possible and certain the founding and permanent establishment of a liberal Puritan State on Aquidneck, in Narragansett Bay, dedicated to Civil and Soul Liberty from its first inception.

"There's a Divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough hew them how we will."

Events of moment follow in rapid succession. We turn to the pages of the Records of The Colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England for their establishment:

Nov. 2, 1637. "Mr. John Wheelwright, being formerly convicted of contempt and sedition, and now justifying himself and his former practise, being to the disturbance of the civill peace, hee is by the Court disfranchised and banished, having 14 days to settle his affaires, and if within that time hee depart not the patent, hee promiseth to render himselfe to Mr. Staughton, at his house, to bee kept till hee bee disposed of.

"Mr. John Coggeshall being convented for disturbing the publike peace was disfranchised, and enjoyned not to speake anything to



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disturb the publike peace, upon pain of punishment." Mr. Coggeshall was a Deacon of the First Church and was recently elected as a Deputy from Boston as was Deacon William Aspinwall. Both were unceremoniously expelled from the General Court and a new election ordered. Mr. Coddington was also a Deputy from Boston, but was allowed to retain his seat in the court.

"Mr. William Aspinwall being convented for having his hand to a petition or remonstrance, being a seditious libell, and justifying the same, for which, and for his insolent and turbulent carriage, hee is disfranchised and banished, putting in sureties for his departure before the end of the first month next ensuing.

"Mrs. (Anne) Hutchinson (wife of Mr. William Hutchinson), being convented for traducing the ministers and their ministry in this country, shee declared volentarily her revelations for her ground, and that shee should be delivered and the Court ruined, with their posterity, and thereupon was banished, and the meane while was committed to Mr. Joseph Welde untill the Court shall dispose of her."

These acts were all passed under date of Nov. 2, 1637. At the next sitting of the Court, on Nov. 15, several more citizens and freemen were disfranchised for signing the Wheelwright protest. Five days later, Nov. 20, the General Court passed an act that, for undulterated, high handed tyranny, has few more flagrant examples in the history of half civilized states. It was worthy of the insolent audacity of Archbishop Laud and the Star Chamber. Here it is fresh from the Records of The Colony of Massachusetts Bay, Vol. I, p. 211:

"Whereas the opinions and revelations of Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson have seduced and led into dangerous errors many of the people heare in Newe England, insomuch as there is just cause of suspicion that they, as others in Germany, in former times, may, upon some revelation, make some suddaine irruption upon those that differ from them in judgment, for prevention whereof it is ordered, that all those whose names are underwritten shall (upon warning given or left at their dwelling houses) before the 30th day of this month of November, deliver at Mr. Cane's house, at Boston, all such guns, pistols, swords, powder, shot and match as they shall bee owners of, or have in their custody, upon paine of ten pound for every default to bee made thereof; which armes are

to be kept by Mr. Cane till this Court shall take further order therein. Also, it is ordered, upon like penalty of £X that no man who is to render his armes by this order shall buy or borrow any guns, swords, pistols, powder, shot, or match, untill this Court shall take further order therein."

Fifty-eight citizens of Boston are named and seventeen from nearby towns. On a groundless suspicion, for no crime, seventy-five heads of families are subjected to the humiliation of carrying to Mr. Cane's house in Boston, all the means of personal and family protection they possessed, thereby setting at naught the well established doctrine of the house the castle, not even entering the premises by a legal search warrant.

Of the men of Boston, who, within a few months of this were founders of a new town at Aquidneck, were William Hutchinson, husband of Anne, Dea. William Aspinwall, Samuel Cole, William Dyer, husband of Mary, Edward Rainsford, John Batton, John Sanford, Richard Cooke, Richard Fairbanks, Oliver Mellows, Samuel Wilbour, John Oliver, Richard Gridley, Zachariah Bosworth, William Townsend, William Pell, Richard Hutchinson, James Johnson, Gen. Thomas Savage, John Odlin, Gamalial Wayte, Edward Hutchinson, Isaac Gross, Richard Carder, Robert Harding, Richard Wayte, John Porter, Jacob Elliott, Thomas Wardell, William Wardell, William Baulston, William Freeborn, Henry Bull, William Salter, Dr. John Clarke, Dea. John Coggeshall, Mr. Easton, of Newbury, Richard Bulgar and Philip Sherman, of Roxbury, all of whom were included in the act of disarmament of peaceable citizens, whose only civic offence was their endorsement of the liberal views of Mrs. Hutchinson and Rev. John Wheelwright as to a free church in a free state. It seems almost unbelievable that Governor John Winthrop and men of his type should have committed an act of such a criminal character, for which they could have been held amenable for treason against the state in the Courts of England. But the unjust order was obeyed, arms and ammunition were given up by these hitherto loyal citizens, for the most part church members and freemen of the Bay Colony. Other plans and the founding of other towns and a new Colony possess the minds and hearts

of these men and women, whose opinions as to civil and religious freedom are so at variance with the theocracy of Boston.

The closing acts of the drama are a worthy sequel to the events which were inaugurated by the advent of Anne Hutchinson to Boston in 1634. The time is March, 1638. The place is the meeting house of the First Church of Boston. The Rev. John Wilson is in the pulpit, and Anne Hutchinson stands before him to receive the sentence of excommunication, with a crowded assembly as witnesses. It is the hour of the jubilant triumph of Puritan orthodoxy over a more liberal faith and a more liberal civil policy. Wilson and Winthrop are vindicated; Anne Hutchinson is silenced. Listen to the words of condemnation rolling out of the mouth of the Puritan Pope of Boston against the female culprit at the foot of the sacred altar of the temple of the despised Jesus,—“Therefore in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the name of the church I do not only pronounce you worthy to be cast out but I do cast you out; and in the name of Christ do I deliver you up to Satan, that you may learn no more to blaspheme, to seduce and to lie; and I do account you from this time forth to be a Heathen and a Publican, and so to be held of all the brethren and sisters of this congregation and of others; therefore I command you in the name of Christ Jesus and of this church as a leper to withdraw yourself out of the congregation.” It is difficult to think of such an awful utterance from a minister of the Gospel of Love of the Christ. One can almost see Angels weep and Satan laugh.

As Anne Hutchinson turned from the altar to leave the house, bearing in her heart the heavy anathemas of the church she had loved, out of the awe-stricken throng came Mary Dyer, one of her disciples and devoted friends, took her arm and walked by her side down the aisle and out of the house. One story has it that William Coddington also walked by her side. If not in fact, he did in spirit, as did all the devoted band who were preparing for a new exodus to a new land of promise. One standing at the meeting house door said to Mrs. Hutchinson, “The Lord sanctify this unto you.” She replied, “The Lord judgeth not as man judgeth. Better to be cast out of the church than to deny Christ.” A stranger in Boston, pointing at Mary Dyer, asked, “Who is that young woman?” The

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reply was, "It is the woman which bore the monster." Twenty-four years later, Mary Dyer was hung on Boston Common for being a Quakeress.

One more event is of record when we turn to the great "experiment" for which eight years of Boston history has been the preparatory school,—the founding of The Colony of Rhode Island, in Narragansett Bay. We have already noted the warnings of the Bay Colony, the notes of the impending separation, exclusion and banishment. On the 12th of March, 1638, the summons is issued against Mr. Coddington and others as follows: "Mr. William Coddington, Mr. John Coggeshall, Governor William Baulston, Edward Hutchinson, Samuel Wilbore, John Porter, John Compton, Henry Bull, Philip Shearman, Willi Freeborne and Richd Carder, these haveing license to dept, summons is to go out for them to appear (if they bee not gone before) at the next Court, the third month, to answer such things as he objected."

The Stone which the builders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony rejected, shall soon become the corner of a new Commonwealth, styled The Colony of Rhode Island on Aquidneck.



George Lansing Raymond

ENGLISH ANCESTORS OF JOHN AND WILLIAM RAYMOND OF BEVERLY,
MASS.



N page 196 of the Record Book entitled "Grey" in Somerset House, London, England, may be found the will of George Raymond of Glaston, probated in 1652. In it he mentions his sons John and William and his daughter Elizabeth as being "in New England." In a court record of Salem, Massachusetts, December 18, 1697, William is made to say that he came to New England about 1652. In another, Book 17, page 24, William and John are shown to be brothers, and, according to the church registry of their ages at their deaths, John is shown to have been about twenty years older than William, and to have been born between 1616 and 1618. Enough is left of the records of St. John's Church, Glastonbury, to inform us of the baptism of George Raymond's son George in 1616 and his death in 1617, also of the burial, in 1618, of the wife of George Raymond, probably after the birth of John, the same who died in Beverly, Massachusetts, January 18, 1703, aged about eighty-seven. George Raymond of Glaston married a second time. We find in the registry that Maurice, son of George Raymond, was baptized April 24, 1621. Apparently, too, John Raymond had a first wife in England. In the registry of St. Benedict's Church, Glastonbury, we find that Margaret Raymond, wife of John Raymond, was buried May 28, 1639. Existing English "Chancery Proceedings, B and A, Charles I. R., 23, No. 45, Feb. 6, 1645," show that John Raymond, Gent., when he decided to go "across the seas," left in trust with two uncles a house that he owned. This house was only five or six miles from Glastonbury. It explains why, because John had property of his own, the will of George of Glaston left him only "one shilling." Others of George's children shared better, but the most of his property went to his son Maurice. This was probably the family name

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of George's second wife. The name, sometimes in the same document spelled Morris, is French, and may have belonged to one of the large number of Huguenot refugees known to have settled in Glastonbury. All records there are missing between about 1621 and 1653. The name Maurice may explain why the branch of the Raymond family descended from William, of Beverly, holds a tradition of Huguenot descent.

George Raymond, or Rayment—both spellings are used in the same documents—after promising his signature to his will, signs it with only his mark. The will is phrased exactly as if, because he was paralyzed, or, at least, too feeble to write, he had it copied from the will of Arthur Raymond, of Ilchester, dated in 1623; and this Arthur, for several reasons, seems to have been the father of George. Ilchester is situated only twelve miles from Glastonbury. Arthur's will leaves a house and other property to his wife and to each of two other sons; but no house, yet the largest share of the property, to "George, my eldest son." George's will, made thirty years later, shows why he did not need a house. He refers to his possessions in the house that he occupies "in the churchyard of St. John's Glaston." The father of Arthur, George, of Ilchester, had left money for "George, the son of Arthur, to help to breed him to school." In the churchyard of St. John's there can still be seen the ruins of a great schoolhouse that was once there. Very likely George Raymond was connected with it as a teacher. Perhaps it was because his son William had learned something from his father with reference to the subject that, some years later, the Beverly (Massachusetts) Records tell of his being appointed to assist the selectmen in securing a teacher for their town. Moreover, the uncles—really grand uncles, though this term was not used in those days—to whom John's house was left in trust when he went "across the seas" were Arthur's brothers mentioned in the will of George, of Ilchester. Both this will and that of Arthur are printed in the volume entitled "Somerset Wills." Enough remains of the ruined tomb of William Raymond, of Ilchester, brother of Arthur, to enable us to make out the coat of arms of this family. The shield is that described by Burke in his book entitled "General Armory" as "argent three bars sable," in other words, silver with three black

bars, these of equal size crossing the shield horizontally. The crest is a "dexter arm embowed in armor, grasping a battle axe, all proper," which means in their proper natural color. The simplicity of this coat of arms shows its age. In 1581 and later, other coats of arms were granted to members of the Raymond family. Apparently, too, they belonged to the same branch of the family. This is said because we find different coats of arms used by different families of this name living side by side in the same counties and towns. It is worth while to say also that the story of a battle axe crest, like that of a Huguenot ancestry, is traditional in this branch of the Raymond family of America. It is a crest that surmounts many different English coats of arms. It is sometimes said to have been given to his knights by William the Conqueror. If there is any truth in this statement, the crest connects this family of Raymond with that of a knight whose name is inscribed at Battle Abbey among those Normans who fought at the battle of Hastings in 1066. The family of this knight is said to have settled at a place named Raymond in the Hundred of Wye in the County of Kent. The migrations of the family are apparently indicated in the places to which Burke assigns the use of the coat of arms just described, namely, Langley Park, County Kent; Saling Hall and Valentine House, County Essex; and Marpole, County Devon. The latter was not far from Ilchester, County Somerset.

Captain William Raymond, of Beverly, was in the Narragansett fight in 1675; a deputy to the General Court in 1685-6; lieutenant commander of Beverly and Wenham troops in 1683; and commander of an expedition to Canada in 1690, for which he and his soldiers subsequently received from the Crown a grant of a county of land. The wills of George and Arthur, the immediate ancestors of William in England, show that both were Protestants, but not excessively puritanic. William, of Beverly, was so influential in his church that he was able to persuade his pastor, Rev. John Hale, to accompany the expedition to Canada; but, at a time when Baptists were shunned and, more or less, persecuted in New England, he married, as his second wife, the daughter of the first Baptist minister who came to Boston, Ruth Hull. In the heat of the Salem witchcraft excitement, his son William, when a young man, testified that

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he told one who had said that another had tried to bewitch her, that "she lied." Captain William married, for his first wife, Hannah, daughter of Edward Bishop. Their son William, born about 1666, married Mary, daughter of John Kettle. Their son William, born February 11, 1690, married Deborah, daughter of Benjamin Balch, and settled in Rochester, Massachusetts. Their son Daniel, born March 17, 1717, married Elizabeth, daughter of John Blackmer, and widow of Isaac Doty, and moved to Sharon, Connecticut. Their son Paul, born November 15, 1774, married Rachel, daughter of Zebulon Stevens, and settled in Richmond, Massachusetts. Their son, Benjamin, born in Richmond, Massachusetts, October 19, 1744, moved to Rome, New York, and married Hannah, daughter of Thomas Wright. Benjamin Raymond was by profession a civil engineer, and was the first to plat large sections of northern New York State. He became also a county judge of St. Lawrence county. He was founder and for some time sole supporter of St. Lawrence Academy, located at Potsdam, New York. He died while employed on the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, September 26, 1824.

Benjamin Wright Raymond, the son of Benjamin and Hannah (Wright) Raymond, was born at Rome, New York, October 23, 1801. He married, June 12, 1835, Amelia Porter, daughter of Reuben Porter. She was born at Auburn, New York, February 15, 1814. Benjamin W. Raymond was a man of great public spirit, foresight and generosity. He was twice mayor of Chicago, Illinois, was president of that city's Board of Trade, president of the Fox River Valley Railroad, also of the Wisconsin Central Railroad, and first president of the Elgin National Watch Company, and of the board of trustees of Lake Forest University. A member of the Presbyterian church, he was a trustee and elder in that denomination. He died April 5, 1883. His widow's death occurred May 23, 1889.

George Lansing Raymond, the son of Benjamin Wright and Amelia (Porter) Raymond, was born at Chicago, Illinois, September 3, 1839. With the exception of one great-grandmother, Filipa Hollenbeck, of a Dutch family of New York, all of his ancestors came to this country through New England; and all at a very early date. This can be authenticated by the records of the Society of Mayflower Descendants and of the Society of Colonial Wars. Among

these ancestors of the first generation that settled in America were Rev. Thomas Walley and Lieutenant Samuel Allyn, of Barnstable, Mass.; William Allen, of Gloucester; Deputy John Balch and Edward Bishop, of Beverly; William Fellows, of Ipswich; John Kettle, of Gloucester; William Blackmar; Peter Branch; Governor William Bradford; Thurston Clark; Edward Doty, Mayflower pilgrim; Elder John Faunce; George Morton, the author of "Morton's Records of Plymouth;" and Thomas Richards, all of the Plymouth Colony; John Lake, a brother-in-law of Governor Winthrop, and Captain John Gallop, of Swamp Fight fame, of the Massachusetts Bay Colony; and of the Connecticut Colony, John Bronson and Thomas Root, soldiers in the Pequot War; Deputy Richard Butler, John Carrington, Deputy John Deming, Nathaniel Foot, Ensign William Goodrich, Deputy John Holcombe, John Hopkins, Matthew Marvin, Joseph Mygatt, Dr. Daniel Porter, of Farmington; Thomas Sherwood, Deputy Timothy Stanley, Deputy John Cole, Deputy John Steele, Deputy Henry Stevens, Joseph Clark, John Stoddard, Elder John Strong, the last three being of Windsor; Deputy Richard Treat, Hugh Gaylord, Andrew Warner, Governor John Webster, Major William Whiting, Matther Woodruff, and Thomas Wright. In Rhode Island and Providence Plantations were Deputy Henry Hall and Richard Pierce. In collateral branches, James Otis, the patriotic lawyer of Boston, Massachusetts; Samel Hopkins, the puritanic preacher of Newport, Rhode Island, and Noah Webster, the lexicographer, were all first cousins of the great grandparents of the family of Benjamin W. Raymond. Of their own ancestors, Paul Raymond, Zebulon Stevens, Captain and Dr. James Porter, and probably Oliver Root, were all soldiers in the Revolutionary War.

George Lansing Raymond, after attending private schools in Chicago, spending about a year as cash-boy in a large drygoods store, and two years in a boarding school in Auburn, New York, went in 1857 to Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts. After finishing a course of studies at this institution, he entered Williams College, where he graduated in 1862. After graduation he presented himself for enlistment for service in the Civil War, but was rejected for physical disabilities. He subsequently studied

for one year at the Auburn Theological Seminary, and for two years at the Princeton Theological Seminary, where he graduated in 1865. Besides the degrees of A. B. and A. M., given in course at Williams College, he has received an honorary degree of A. M. from Princeton University, and of L. H. D. in 1883 from Rutgers College, and in 1889 from Williams College.

After his student life in America he traveled and studied in Europe three years, taking courses in aesthetics with Professor Vischer, of Tübingen University, later with Professor Curtius at the time when that historian of Greece was spending several hours a week with his pupils among the marbles of the Berlin Museum. For a few weeks after that, he was pastor of a Presbyterian church in Darby, Pennsylvania. His interest in art and literature and his writings on these subjects led to his being called in 1874 to Williams College where, under the title of Professor of Oratory, he at different times taught in whole or in part, English literature, aesthetics, rhetoric, and elocution. The success of his pupils who, in every year but one between 1874 and 1880, took prizes in the inter-collegiate contests in oratory and composition then held annually in New York City, caused him in the latter year to be called to the chair of oratory, aesthetics and criticism in Princeton University. This position, owing to prolonged ill health, he resigned in 1893. The trustees of the University, on their own initiative, relieving him of excessive work, elected him to a professorship of aesthetics. Wishing to reside permanently in a warmer climate, he accepted in 1895 a professorship of aesthetics in the George Washington University, from which, and from all further academic work, he retired in 1912.

Through all his life, Professor Raymond has been contributing through his written volumes to the subjects that he has been called upon to teach. When teaching elocution, for instance, he recognized that all the arts are primarily developments of different forms of expression through the tones and movements of the body, and he began a thorough study, chiefly during vacations in Paris, of methods of representing thought and emotions through singing and speaking, also through postures and gestures. The results of this study he published in his "Orator's Manual" and in a collaborated

textbook called "The Writer." In this latter publication, the principles underlying written discourse were for the first time correlated to those of oral discourse; and he showed the identity of the same principles as applied not only to those arts but to all the higher arts in a series of volumes on "Comparative Aesthetics." Dr. M. M. Miller, one of his pupils, in the preface to "An Art Philosopher's Cabinet," a volume made of extracts from the "Comparative Aesthetics," credits Professor Raymond with being "the author of the only complete system of art interpretation that has yet been produced in any country,—complete because of its analytic and synthetic unity, treating its theme equally in its historical and theoretical aspects, and applying identical principles to both subject-matter and form as used in every one of the higher arts." Professor Raymond conceives of art as the representation of human thought and emotion through the use of effects perceived in nature. He, therefore, insists equally upon significance in art, and upon imitation, upon what is called expression and upon what is called form of technique. He maintains that it is through applying right principles and all of them together, rather than by imitating historic styles or devising eccentric ones, that the artist can be guided to trustworthy and original methods of production.

Besides art criticism, Professor Raymond has also written poetry. To quote again from Dr. Miller, "his verse is simple yet dignified, direct yet graceful, and clear yet, so far as his own ideal, invariably imaginative, his conception being that nothing can be expressed according to the methods of art except as by way either of reproduction or reference. The means or implements of expression are forms that can be seen or heard in natural life." In all of Professor Raymond's larger poems like "The Aztec God," "Columbus," and "Daute," a very high purpose is evident. His "Life in Song" is said to contain, under the guise of a story of a reformer, the most accurate expression that has yet been given to the motives underlying the emancipation of the slaves in our country, and the war of secession. Strange as it may seem, too, its final canto, though printed almost forty years ago, foretells in vision the present war for democracy and its causes, as perfectly as if its author had been writing history and not prophesy. We append a full

list of titles and dates of publication of Professor Raymond's writings: "Colony Ballads" (1876); "Ideals Made Real" (1877); "Orator's Manual," a text book (1879); "Modern Fishers of Men" (1879); "A Life in Song" poems (1886); "Poetry as a Representative Art" (1886); "Ballads of the Revolution, and Other Poems" (1877); "Sketches in Song" (1887); "The Genesis of Art Form" (1893); "The Speaker," a text book with M. M. Miller (1893); "The Writer," a text book with P. Wheeler (1893); "Art in Theory" (1894); "Pictures in Verse" (1894); "Rhythm and Harmony in Poetry and Music" (1895); "Painting, Sculpture and Architecture as Representative Arts" (1895); "Proportion and Harmony of Line and Color in Painting, Sculpture and Architecture" (1899); "The Representative Significance of Form" (1900); "The Aztec God, and Other Dramas" (1900); "Ballads and Other Poems" (1901); "The Essentials of Esthetics" (1907); "Dante and Collected Verse" (1909); all published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York; also "The Psychology of Inspiration" (1907); "Fundamentals in Education, Art and Civics," essays and addresses (1910); and "Suggestions for the Spiritual Life," college chapel talks (1912), published by Funck and Wagnalls Company, New York; "The Mountains about Williamstown" (1913), G. P. Putnam's Sons; "A Poet's Cabinet" (1914); and "An Art Philosopher's Cabinet" (1915) contain extracts from his writings selected by M. M. Miller, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Though Professor Raymond has never held any public office, he has all his life been doing what he could to lead public opinion, usually being himself some years ahead of it. For instance, as early as 1872 he pleaded before the labor committee of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Pennsylvania for an amendment abolishing or restricting child labor; in 1874, in six articles in the "Yale Courant," he showed, for the first time—and twenty years before the starting of the simplified spelling reform—that orthography simplified in accordance with the laws and history of English could be applied to every group of words now spelled irregularly, and cause them to be spelled regularly; between 1876 and '93 he argued in Lyceum lectures for Civil Service Reform; in 1896 he stumped New Jersey in behalf of the gold standard for our currency; in 1908 he was appointed Delegate from the District of Co-

GEORGE LANSING RAYMOND

lumbia to the Seventeenth Universal Peace Congress in London. He has always been interested in efforts to improve the young. For many years he was a director of the National Society of Religious Education, and on the retirement of Supreme Court Justice Harlan, he was selected to take his place, but refused to accept the position.

In matters having to do with art, he was appointed by the National Society of the Fine Arts, and also by the District of Columbia, as a delegate to the third International Congress of Public Art, at Leige, Belgium, September 15-21, 1905; and he was vice-president of the American Free Art League, and chairman of its District of Columbia Directors when, in 1909, all that the league then sought was obtained through the passage of the Payne-Aldrich tariff law.

Having delivered addresses that were requested by different societies, he became a member of the Spelling Reform Association; Modern Language; Classical (vice-president of its Washington branch); the American Philosophical; Social Science, of which he was a vice-president; American Association for Advancement of Science; Academy of Political and Social Science; the National Sculpture Society; National Geographical Society; Archeological Institute (vice-president of its Los Angeles branch); Southern Society of Philosophy and Psychology; National Society (now Federation) of the Fine Arts (a charter member and on its first lecture committee); the Washington Academy of Arts and Sciences; and the Washington Society for Philosophic Inquiry. He is a Fellow of the North British Academy, and of the Royal Society of Arts of North Britain; a member of the Society of Colonial Wars; of the Mayflower Descendants (twice governor of the District of Columbia branch); of the Atlantic Union and Authors Club of London; of the Century, Authors, and National Arts clubs of New York, and of the Cosmos Club of Washington, D. C. He is also a member of the college fraternities—Kappa Alpha and Phi Beta Kappa.

Professor Raymond attends the Presbyterian church, and, as a rule, votes the Republican ticket. He married, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, July 31, 1872, Mary E. Blake. They have one living child, Maybelle, who married, in 1911, Tyler Dennett, and has two children: George Raymond and Tyler Eugene.

Editorial

A NOTABLE CENTENNIAL

Illinois was admitted to the Union as a State, one hundred years ago the coming December 3rd. This centennial anniversary will be generally observed throughout its bounds. Very properly, a leading part in arranging therefor is being taken by its schools and colleges. In view of the present world war, the historical retrospect is of dramatic interest.

Although Ohio and Indiana became States before it, Illinois has an older history than they, and out of it they were carved. As early as 1634, Nicolet discovered what is now known as Lake Michigan, and which he called "Lac de Illinois," from the name of an Indian tribe, and meaning "men." In 1682 Tonty refers to the "Illinois Country," and of his having, under directions by La Salle, erected a fort near the site of the present city of Peoria. The first official designation of the "Illinois Country" was in 1775, when the Continental Congress passed an act in which it was so named, and dividing it into departments. In 1778, following the conquest by General George Rogers Clark ("Americana," Jan., 1918), Virginia by its House of Delegates erected the "County of Illinois," holding it to comprise all country west and north of the Ohio river. In 1800, Illinois became a part of the Indiana Territory; in 1809 the latter was divided, and the Territory of Illinois was created, and then included Wisconsin and a part of Minnesota.

As a State, Illinois has given to the Universal Hall of Fame which enshrines the memories of the world's greatest benefactors, two names which will be cherished the world over until the end of time—Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant—above all others, the Saviors of the Union. These are names to be recalled with especial veneration in these days when it would seem as if democracy and civilization were in imminent peril. Never before was there occa-

sion as now for such devout gratitude to the Almighty Ruler for the results of the War for the Union. The successful issue of that mighty struggle alone prevented the establishment of a foreign dynasty in Mexico. The dismemberment of the Union would scarcely have left on American soil two Confederacies—a Northern and a Southern; these would have been further divided. All would have been at the mercy of a foreign power; and it may be safely presumed that America would have become the scene of a World's War, as Belgium and France today.

Such dire results were rendered impossible by the restoration of the American Union under the leadership of two great men from the State whose centennial is celebrated this year—Lincoln, the personification of the moral soul of America, and, in large degree, the Creator of that Soul; and Grant, the personification of her resolute will and material power—soul, will and powers which, it is to be hoped and believed, are finding reincarnation today, to the vindication of the rights of man and liberal government, the world over.

The next number of "Americana" will contain an interesting resumé and philosophical study of Illinois history, by a resident of that State, accompanied by illustrations of unusual significance.

WAR IN LITERATURE

From certain literature of the last century, relating to the events and individual characters of the men of a more or less remote past, it would seem as though some of those events and characters were now being reproduced in the present war, albeit on a more satanic and stupendous scale.

Blackmore's "Whitehaven," recounting the scenes in England when invasion by Napoleon Bonaparte was daily expected, and was finally defeated through the masterly fight made by her navy under the famous Nelson, depicts the attitude and conduct of the people along the English coast at that time. Their dread and expectation of a hostile visitation at any moment, would doubtless be a pretty faithful description of what people in those same districts have been

fearing and undergoing daily and nightly for more than two years past.

Again, Sir Walter Scott's "Anne of Gierstein," written in 1817. This we believe is his only work in which he laid his scenes in Continental Europe. He had never visited those lands; but he was a diligent student of history, and it is doubtful if his characters were overcolored as much as were some of his native Scotland. It is a fine tribute to the illustrious author that so capable a critic as Lockhart pronounced his descriptions of mountain and valley in Burgundy and Flanders to be strictly true to nature. In this novel, Scott has given vivid portrayal of the military marauders of that period as far back as 1474, and some of his portraiture would apply today in faint degree to the Kaiser, to Von Hindenberg and Tirpitz.

And lastly, Victor Hugo, in his world's masterpiece of fiction—"Les Miserables." After his dramatic description of the Battle of Waterloo, he moralizes thus:

"The moment had arrived for the incorruptible supreme equity to reflect, and it is probable that the principles and elements on which the regular gravitations of the moral order, as of the material order, depend—complained. Streaming blood, overcrowded graveyards, mothers in tears, are formidable pleaders. When the earth is suffering from an excessive burden, there are mysterious groans from the shadow, which the abyss hears. Napoleon had been denounced in infinitude, and his fall was decided. Waterloo is not a battle, but a transformation of the universe" (or, as another translator phrases it, "a change of front of the universe").

"The shadow of a mighty right hand is cast over Waterloo; it is the day of destiny, and the force which is above man produced that day. *Hoc erat in fatis*. On that day, the perspective of the human race was changed, and Waterloo is the hinge of the nineteenth century. The disappearance of the Great Man was necessary for the advent of the Great Age, and He who cannot be answered undertook the task."

And then, Hugo's wonderful epitomization of his indictment and verdict—"God was tired of Napoleon," or, as another translator has it, "Napoleon embarrassed God." The writer of this had not read a page of "Les Miserables" for more than a score of years, when occurred the rape of Belgium and the great crime of all ages,

the sinking of the "Lusitania." Then came back to his memory the phrase last quoted—"God was tired of Napoleon." It is an all but world-wide prayer and hope and belief that He who, whether by direct interposition or through human agencies, controls events upon this earth, will soon tire of the War Lord of today, compared with whom Attila, the Duke of Alva, and Cortez and Napoleon, were pigmies in armies and deathdealing appliances, and, themselves, knights *sans reproche*.

LITERARY NOTES

To anyone except a technical student pursuing his investigations for a real purpose, statistical arrays of figures convey but vague ideas. "System, the Magazine of Business," in vivid contrast, takes the question, "Is Massachusetts as large as Texas?" and answers it through the medium of a map showing how the United States would appear if the size of each State corresponded with its population. Upon that basis, Massachusetts is shown to be about as large as Texas; while Rhode Island is as large as the combined states of Wyoming and Idaho. Of course census figures do not materially lie, but they do not convey the truth so impressively as does such an illustration as the above.

The present number of "Americana" contains a chapter from advance sheets of "The History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations," by that accomplished historian, Thomas Williams Bicknell, LL.D., and to be published by the American Historical Society, Inc. Through philosophic treatment, this work will give a new outlook to the twentieth century citizen—the real object of all historic study. True history is not only the record of action, but its interpretation. The narrative history referred to is made fascinating by thrilling stories of the heroic acts of men and women of high and low degree. The common man must come into his own, and the process of the growth of the common man of the twentieth century from the man of the same race and language of the seventeenth century, is made manifest.

The Boston Book Company has just issued its eleventh annual volume, "Annual Magazine Subject-Index," edited by Frederick Winthrop Faxon, A. B., and compiled with the co-operation of librarians throughout the country. It gives a key to all subjects treated in many periodicals and Society Transactions. While general in scope, it specializes in history, travel, mountaineering, exploration, outdoor life, fine arts and architecture; and is a very full index to topics of vital interest at this time, when the map of the world is continually in the mind's eye on account of the great war—history, geography and travel. The work will be of great value to people engaged in literary labors.

"The Grass in the Pavement" is the title of a beautiful little volume of verse by Miss M. E. Buhler. In the main it is a compilation of her contributions to leading journals, and which have had appreciative readers who will be pleased to have them now in book form. There is not an indifferent piece in the collection. Each is a gem of thought, frequently having for its basis something the multitude pass by as "an unconsidered trifle," but in which the author, in her deep thought, sees a profound philosophical lesson. Of such is "The Grass in the Pavement," which gives title to the volume, with its pitiful appeal, and the cheering and ennobling reply, carrying a lesson which goes to the foundations of human destiny. Of like import is "Dust," a rebuke to vanity. The initial poem, "The Dreamer," might be taken for a portraiture of the author—one "in touch with life's mysteries, and with a heart that understands." To the one discouraged and tired under the strain of life's concerns, her verses bring relief and courage. (James T. White & Co., New York; \$1.25).

Of making books of the Great War there seems to be no prospect of early end, yet there is growing into thought, and frequent expression, a conviction that the field is being overworked, that is to say, along the line of personal experiences. From such, we turn with a sense of relief to a really informative volume, "Dramatic Moments in American Diplomacy," by Ralph Page (Doubleday, Page & Co., 284 pp.; \$1.25). It is not a chronological history of American diplomacy as such, but a series of sketches of important diplo-

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matic events, abounding in weighty incidents which have no telling in official reports, and covering the relations of our government with Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, etc., from revolutionary days down to those of the Panama Canal acquisition. Of almost direct relation to the present, are the stories of the efforts of Germany to get a foothold in the Carribean, and of Admiral Dewey's defiance to the German fleet at Manila. Of a real personal interest to the present reviewer, are the pages relating to the masterly conduct of two of our Ministers—Elihu Washburne, at Paris, during the Franco-Prussian War; and General Stewart L. Woodford at Madrid, just prior to our War with Spain—from both of whom he heard interesting details in personal conversation. All pages of the volume are of deep interest, and, in view of present-day conditions, many have a deeper meaning than they would have had a couple of years ago:

The Halifax (Nova Scotia) "Acadian Recorder" contains a review of nearly a column length, of the January number of "Americana," and from which the following are excerpts:

"The first issue of 'Americana' for the present year is a remarkable production, both from a literary and a typographical standpoint. The cover design and numerous cuts are most admirable, and the articles are all of the greatest interest. 'Heraldry in America,' by Henry Yellowley, supplies a great amount of information on a subject that the man on the street had never dreamt of linking up with this continent and its affairs. The article of greatest general interest is undoubtedly that by Wilma Orem, dealing with the decline of English influence in Turkey.

"'Americana' also contains another instalment of 'The History of Halifax,' by Dr. Arthur Wentworth Eaton, the gifted Nova Scotian writer of prose and verse, an interesting sketch of General Sir Fenwick Williams and other provincial notables being included. No such collection of biographies has heretofore been published. The stories told are not only interesting, but entertaining, and in parts racy. It is not necessary to say that the diction, the same as in all Dr. Eaton's writings, is perfect English. The magazine is one of the most sumptuous publications produced, the printing, paper and illustrations being all of the highest class. Dr. Eaton has collected a vast amount of information from public records and private sources about Halifax and its people, during the first hun-

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dred years of its existence, which he has been publishing in previous volumes of 'Americana.' Much of this information has never before been made public, and is of the highest value from all historical standpoints. The once flourishing 'Whaling Industry' is treated by Z. W. Pease in a most readable manner."





ABRAHAM LINCOLN

As he appeared at time of Lincoln-Douglas Debate, 1858

AMERICANA

OCTOBER, 1918

Centennial of Illinois

ANDREW STUART CUTHBERTSON, BUNKER HILL, ILLINOIS.



LLINOIS was admitted into the Union as a State, one hundred years ago. This centennial anniversary is being observed very generally throughout the bounds of that commonwealth by colleges and schools, patriotic, historical and other societies, culminating in a final observance December 3rd, under the auspices of the Illinois Centennial Commission, established by law, and the State Historical Society.

Now that we are involved in a great war, thoughtful minds turn to the past, in order that we may learn lessons which will aid us in solving the problems of the present, and better bear the burdens incident to the future. An historical retrospect will be of great interest, and, as a preface thereto, no words can be more appropriate, than those of the patriotic Governor of Illinois (Lowden) who in his Centennial Proclamation said: "We have one hundred years of noble history as a background; whether we shall have another hundred years equally as inspiring, depends on the issue of the world-wide war. It will help Illinois to play a great part in that war if the people will refresh their courage, and strengthen their will by a study of the first hundred years."

Whether it be in its recorded history dating back to the coming of the Jesuits in 1673, or in the legends and romance of an earlier date, the development of the territory comprising what is now Illinois is full of interest. Here met the Indian and mound builder; the fur trader and outlaw, priest and adventurer, explorer and settler, soldier and Indian chief, orator, statesman, and politician—bold hearts all, and all of whom bore some part in laying the foundations of a

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great State, and determining the destinies of a mighty Nation. And all these builded better than they knew.

One hundred years ago the twenty-first star was added to our National Flag. Then, the only means of transportation was by the "ancient trails," where wild beasts stalked over the boundless prairies, and wild men made pathless journeys, or glided upon the sparkling waters. "Teeming with romance, every wave a messenger of some forgotten sacrifice in the brave days of old, still rolls in peerless majesty that ancient highway of the prairie, the historic Illinois." Today, Illinois is a great network of splendid highways, and traversed by one of the greatest systems of railroads in America. A short century has come and gone; the virgin prairie has yielded to the plow of the settler, and become the corn belt of the nation, a granary of the world. Within the State's boundaries is one of the greatest of all industrial cities. The center of population has moved from the sea-coast States to the middle of the "Prairie State." Truly can it be said that Illinois, in one hundred years, has become "the heart of the nation."

During all this material development, while this advancement was taking place, during all this industrial growth and physical transformation, never for a single moment have her brave men and devoted women forgotten that they are of a nation, as expressed by the greatest of her sons, "conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created free and equal, and have certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It was from Illinois that George Wheeler enlisted from Elgin, as the first volunteer soldier of the War for the Union. The entire number of men furnished from that State in that struggle was 256,297.¹ Besides, Illinois gave those two incomparable men, whose names are written in letters of gold upon our nation's roll of honor, whose memory will be ever cherished as among the world's greatest benefactors, and whose deeds demon-

1. The contribution of Illinois to the War for the Union (1861-1865), was 256,297 men, about fifteen per cent. of the entire population. Her contribution to the present great World's War to the present time (Aug., 1918), is 280,029 men, or 23,732 more men than was furnished during the entire period of the Civil War. To equal the percentage of 1861-65, she would need to contribute more than 900,000 men.





O'CONNOR'S STATUE OF LINCOLN
Springfield, Illinois

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strated above all others the fact that this American Union of States is forever indestructible—Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant.

Illinois takes its name from its principal river, which, in turn, was named from the Indian confederacy of five tribes, known as the Illini, and, according to Albert Gallatin, the noted authority on the Indian language, is derived from the Delaware word "Leno Leni," or "Illini," meaning real, or superior, men, the termination of the word being of French origin. Marquette and Joliet were the first white men to place foot upon the soil of Illinois, or to guide a canoe over the surface of its placid streams. The Jesuit Father Marquette, polished, genteel and refined, yet of knightly courage, and capable of enduring the severest hardships, labored faithfully and successfully among the Indians. His grave is the one green spot upon the sands washed by the Straits of Mackinaw. Afterward came the daring Frenchman LaSalle, who navigated the upper Mississippi, built a fort at St. Louis and another at Peoria, explored the lower Mississippi, and died in the swamps of Louisiana, one of the great men of his day. His explorations and those of his friend Tonty are full of historic interest, and their memory will ever live in the history of Illinois.

The Territory was first specifically recognized in 1775, when it was designated the "Illinois Country," by the Continental Congress. The first governor of the Northwest Territory of which Illinois was a part, was General Arthur St. Clair, who served until 1800, when the Territory was divided, and became known as the Territory of Illinois and Indiana. When Illinois appeared upon the map in its present form and became one of "America's imperial commonwealths," Shadrach Bond was made its first governor. He was inaugurated on October 6, 1818, at Old Kaskaskia, the first capital. It was here that the first legislature convened, in a large rough old building of ancient limestone, having a steep roof, gables of unpainted boards, and dormer windows. It was situated in the center of the village square. Some able historians assert that the edifice was the British military headquarters, captured by George Rogers Clark in 1787. In 1820 Vandalia became the capital, and there was built the first State House, during the administration of

Governor Coles (1822-26). On July 4, 1839, while Joseph Duncan was governor, Springfield became the third and present capital.

The explorations by the French in the seventeenth century and the history of the French settlements in Illinois, while full of interest, are without particular historical significance. If the Mississippi Valley was to be colonized in the century following the French discovery, it must be done by the French nation. England had enough room for colonization along the Atlantic coast; the Dutch were comfortably settled along the Hudson; Spain was not attracted by the prairies, but lured to the mountains through the finding of precious metals, and in seeking for gold pressed still further west. So the French must colonize Illinois, if it were to be done in the first one hundred years after they discovered it. But we find the French occupancy of the territory without particular influence upon the history of the State, and the principal reason for this is the disposition and temperament of the people, so vividly portrayed by Lottie E. Jones, and typified in the settlers of old Kaskaskia, in the character of "Jules"—

"Hunter, voyager, or soldier whose enlistment had expired, light-hearted and gay. He was simple and temperate. He was placid as he smoked in his red cap by some cottage door; then he would be excited—raving, weeping, threatening in the crowd. The merriest of mortals, he was one of the hardest and the handiest. He could swim like an otter, run like a deer, paddle all day without resting; and, while he paddled, he sang or told stories, and laughter was his dear companion. He could imitate an Indian yell, mimic the hissing rattlesnake, could skin a deer, and scrape a fiddle.

"Here in Kaskaskia, nature had been bountiful, he could raise corn for sagamiti and hominy. Here the maple yielded him sugar. Here was cotton for garments and wheat for flour. Around him was fertile grassy prairie for cattle to grow fat upon; wild grapes, persimmons and cherries in abundance for his use; and pecans, acorns, hickory nuts, hazel and walnuts, for his swine. Here were the buffalo, elk and deer for hides and food. The rivers were full of fish, while the forests abounded in fur bearing animals whose skins he might acquire and sell.

"Jules decided to settle and marry a French woman if possible, and if not, an Indian maid. At Kaskaskia he could find these, with music and dancing and a glass of domestic wine to complete his en-

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joyment. He could live in elegant ease on what he could farm and shoot. He could cut his own lumber, make his own mortar, get a lot near others of his kind and procure a deed for his cornfield with a right of common for wood and pasture.

"Here was no taxes. Here he had a mild paternal government. Here he was lazy when the mood suited, and happy always; with Priest Father to give him consolation on the doorstep of death, and bury him with the rites of the church. The strenuous life of the twentieth century and all the burdens and responsibilities incident thereto were unknown to the settlers of Old Kaskaskia and Cahokia."

Such was the life of the more lowly, the ordinary people. Fashion and wealth were not altogether lacking. The best blood of France flowed there, and the well-born Kaskaskians surrounded themselves with an elegance brought from Canada or over the seas. They had good homes, and life was made easy with the abundant harvests and many slaves. There were also people of taste and refinement, and "the social functions at the homes of a Bauvais, or a Charleville, or a Viviat, a La Chances, or a Sancier, whether in Kaskaskia or Cahokia, would have done credit to the salons of Paris." Such were the social and industrial conditions of the times in the Illinois country in 1759—a social condition which must of necessity disappear in the development of a great State. What then determined its destiny? To five incidents of supreme importance let us now direct our attention, these events so far surmounting all others that they may well be termed the "high points" in Illinois history.

An event of importance took place in 1759, when the Indians from the Illinois country agreed to a compact already in existence, withdrawing their support from the French and transferring it to the English. This is referred to by some historians as "The Silver Covenant Chain," so called by the Indians themselves, and entered into at a time when France needed all the assistance obtainable. The withdrawal of the Indian support was a great loss to the French, and its transference to the English was a strong factor in determining the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon in America.

In 1778 that daring young Virginian, George Rogers Clark, with a mere squad of soldiers, came floating down the Ohio, effected a land-

ing on Illinois soil just above old Fort Massac, marched over the prairies to Kaskaskia, with no provisions except parched corn, and, on the second anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, captured the fort and occupied the country. Early in 1779, Clark made one of the most wonderful winter campaigns on record, captured Vincennes on the Wabash, and attacked and captured Fort Saeville, with its garrison. Thus all the Northwest Territory south of Detroit passed under the control of Virginia, and was governed by that State as "the County of Illinois," until it was ceded to the United States, making it possible for our representatives in Paris in 1783 to establish the western boundaries of the United States at the Mississippi river, rather than the Allegheny Mountains.

The young man who accomplished this deed and rendered so great a service to our State and the Nation as well, was then but twenty-six years of age. He was six feet tall, with red hair, dark eyes, of firm build, and picturesque and stately presence. He came of a good family, was fairly well educated, and was a friend of Jefferson, Hamilton and Patrick Henry. He was, however, "a restless rover of the woods," with the courage of the men of the frontier who with Boone explored Kentucky—a land, said Parrish, of "heroes and desperadoes, saints and sinners." He had been a student in the school conducted by that sturdy Scotchman, Donald Robertson, among whose graduates was James Madison. He was a land surveyor by profession, who had been commissioned by the Council of the State of Virginia (of which body John Marshall was a member and who participated in his appointment), to survey all the territory tributary to the Ohio river. It was while returning along the "wilderness road" from this surveying expedition that Clark learned of the surrender of Burgoyne. Skilled in woodcraft, and of bold originality, he at once planned a stroke which proved as momentous in the history of the Mississippi Valley as did the overthrow of Burgoyne in the annals of the Hudson. While performing his duties as surveyor along the Ohio, he secretly sent spies throughout the Illinois country, and from their reports he conceived that by a bold and sudden movement the entire region could be secured, and thus averting a general attack by the Indian tribes on the North-

western frontier, already instigated and planned by Colonel Henry Hamilton, the British commander at Detroit. Hurrying to Virginia, Clark laid his plans before Governor Patrick Henry, who at once approved them, as did Jefferson, Madison and Wythe, and it was by their authority and direction alone that the scheme was carried to completion. To have consulted the legislature, with the publicity incident thereto, would have meant defeat to the enterprise; secrecy and dispatch were indispensable; so this adventurous young man, with only the approval of the governor and a few close advisers, set about the enlistment and equipping of a force of 350 men for the undertaking. Most of the materials necessary were procured in Pittsburg, and in the spring of 1778 he started down the Ohio with a flotilla of boats, a few pieces of light artillery, and 180 picked riflemen whom he enlisted with the greatest of difficulty, supposedly to defend the Kentucky settlements. Landing, he weeded out and left behind all whom he deemed either undesirable or unable to endure the fatiguing journey, and began his northward journey over the prairies of Illinois, with only 153 men, guided by some hunters whom he met returning from the French settlements, against which he had set out, 120 miles distant as a crow flies. When within the present limits of Williamson county, the guides became bewildered and lost their way and general confusion resulted, but threats of death brought them to their senses, and a distant point of woodland was recognized, from which the expedition marched direct to Kaskaskia, a village of about 250 houses. Arriving near the town, they concealed themselves along the banks of the river, while reconnoitering parties were sent out. One of these parties took possession of a house three-quarters of a mile above the town, on the west bank of the stream. From the family living there, it was learned that a great many men were in the village, but few of them Indians; that the militia had been recently under arms, but all fear of danger having passed, had been dismissed; and that on that very night the sentinels had left their post, and were attending a ball given by the officers of the garrison within the fort.

Clark divided his force into three parties, two of which crossed the river in boats, secured secretly for the purpose, and were directed to proceed to the town from different directions; while he, in

command of the third, was to enter the fort through the postern gate, to which place he was to be directed by one of the captives. This plan was carried out, and Clark entered the fort unobserved, but as soon as he was discovered the festivities ceased. He calmly directed all to proceed with their merrymaking, but to remember that they were now dancing not beneath the banner of Great Britain, but that of Virginia. At the same time, the two other detachments entered the village at both extremes, and ran through the streets with hideous cries, "The Long Knives!—The Long Knives!"—a name which had been given to the Virginians at the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, by the British officers in command of the post at Detroit, endeavoring to create in the minds of the unsuspecting French fearful apprehensions respecting their ferocity and inhumanity. It was said that the Americans not only plundered property, but murdered indiscriminately women and children, the object being to stimulate, through wholesome fear, a determined resistance on the part of the people in case of attack, and to induce them to supply the Indians with guns, ammunition and scalping knives, for use in their depredations against the Americans. Clark determined to take advantage of this fear, surprise the village, and cause all to submit without resistance, feeling that afterward they would become friends either from gratitude or from learning the deceptions which had been practiced upon them. The plan of attack was entirely successful, and within two hours after his arrival the townsmen and their families fled panic-stricken to their homes, where the backwoodsmen ordered them to remain. Thus victory was complete without the shedding of a drop of blood, although the forces in the garrison were twice the number of men under Clark.

On the morning of the 5th of July, Clark withdrew his forces from the town to a position around it, and directed that the inhabitants should have no intercourse with his troops. The people were, however, permitted upon the streets, and Clark, perceiving that his orders were being disregarded, and that the people were assembling in groups and engaging in earnest conversation with some of his men, ordered a number of the principal officers of the militia to be put in irons, assigning no cause therefor. This sudden exhibition of arbitrary power did not spring from a despotic disposition in the

man, for none had a higher regard for personal liberty and the rights of others than had Clark, and, on the other hand, no one had a clearer insight of human nature. When the last hope seemed vanished, an audience was granted the priest and a few elderly men of the village. These were informed that France was in open alliance with the colonies, a fact which was used to influence the French inhabitants to espouse the cause of America. The spirit of the people of Kaskaskia, upon learning the truth, rose by leaps and bounds, and from the many acts and kindness shown them by their captors, they were convinced that, instead of becoming slaves to the "Long Knives," whom they had been ever taught to fear, they would now, taking the oath of allegiance to the American Republic, be permitted to depart in peace, and meet as of old in their little church, and allowed to "worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience." All took the oath of allegiance but the commandant, M. Rocheblave, who deeply in sympathy with the British, had been boisterous and insulting. He was made prisoner, and for his pains sent to Virginia, his slaves sold, and the money divided among Clark's men. A small party under the command of Captain Bowman, accompanied by several leading Kaskaskians, proceeded on horseback to Cahokia, sixty miles up the river. Upon their first appearance, consternation reigned in the timid little village, but, as soon as it was learned that there had been a change in the government, their fear gave place to huzzahs for freedom and America. The fort submitted without opposition, and the oath of allegiance was administered to all.

Father Pierre Gibault, the priest at Kaskaskia, had become intensely devoted to the cause of the colonies, and was sent to Vincennes on the Wabash to learn of conditions there. Returning late in the summer, he reported that through his influence the small garrison of British soldiers had withdrawn before the threatened uprising of the French inhabitants could be effected, or the arrival of "The Long Knives" under Clark. One Captain Helm was placed in command of the post, with a single companion by the name of Henry.

While this was going on, General Hamilton, the British commander at Detroit, was not idle. He gathered together a war party con-

sisting of 177 Creoles and 300 Indians in order to recapture and regarrison Vincennes. Taking command in person on October 7th, he set out, but owing to storms he did not reach the fort for seventy days. Captain Helm attempted resistance, but, being deserted by the French militia, surrendered. Within a month the news came to Clark at distant Kaskaskia, and the Illinois country was plunged into wild alarm caused by rumors of an advance of the British and Indians. Confidence was only restored through the personality of Clark, who waited for more definite information. This came on January 29th, through a Spanish merchant by the name of Vigo, who informed Clark that Hamilton, with all his force except about eighty men, had returned to Detroit, where a spring campaign was being planned.

If Clark was anything, he was a man of action, and, as such, he decided to strike immediately. He constructed a large bateau, which he christened "The Willing," armed her with four swivel guns, manned her with forty volunteers, and sent her down the Mississippi, February 4, 1779, with orders to patrol the Ohio and ascend the Wabash as far as possible, and to allow no person to ascend to the fort or descend the river. He himself, on a following day, February 7, 1779, marched out at the head of 170 bold men, beneath the flags of both America and France, for a 230 mile journey in the dead of winter, through a wilderness of alternating lakes, rivers, woodland, and prairie. The Jesuit priest, Gibault, and all the inhabitants, escorted the little army out of the village. Freshets had swollen the streams and inundated the valleys. Incessant rains and consequent mud and mire impeded their advance, progress was slow, and suffering intense. Lack of food and shelter, toil and exposure, disheartened the men. At the end of eleven days the little army arrived at the flooded lands on the Wabash, nine miles below Vincennes. The sunrise gun from the fort could be heard, but between the soldiers and that gun was an expanse of icy water neck deep. The situation was desperate, retreat was impossible. Clark asserted that upon crossing that sheet of water all hardships would be at an end. Captain Bowman with twenty-five picked men was placed in the rear, with orders to shoot any who refused to march, and Clark advanced into the water. A cry of approval went up from the men, the march

proceeded, and the opposite shore was first reached by the tallest and strongest. Fires were built, by which some of the most feeble and those benumbed from cold, were revived during the night. At dawn Clark divided his party into two bands, following the same tactics used at Kaskaskia, one under Captain Bowman, the other he commanded himself, and at about 7 o'clock in the morning began the attack upon the unsuspecting fort. The town people were friendly, greeting the advance of the troops with cheers, and handing to them muchneeded ammunition. The commander of the fort, taken by complete surprise, thought the first shots were by drunken Indians. There was no hesitation among Clark's men who surrounded the fort. Their attack was so swift and their fire so deadly that not a gunner dared remain at his post. Hamilton sent out a white flag, and negotiations followed. The fort was surrendered, and the Northwest Territory, south of Detroit, passed under the control of Virginia.

Clark had with him a most remarkable body of men, without military dress or discipline; homespun trousers fringed with leather thongs; buckskin hunting shirts; moccasins on their feet; home-made hat or cap on the head; at every hip hung a powder horn, and each man carried a flintlock rifle which, when pointed by a Virginian backwoodsman, meant death. There was implicit confidence in the leader and commander who had conceived the importance of wresting from British control the Northwest Territory, bordering upon the Ohio, and who had the authority of Virginia to undertake the task. The hardships of the campaign would have discouraged the most courageous, but no hardship is too great for the man with vision. In the midst of winter, in a wilderness, facing an unknown and outnumbering enemy, this gallant leader had conducted a forced march of 230 miles, part of the way through ice water to the shoulders, with a small party of ragged, famished, undisciplined men, and without artillery, captured strongly stockaded forts, mounted with swivel guns and manned by trained veterans.

In this Centennial Year, and at all times, Illinois should honor the memory of the man who conceived and put into execution this heroic and momentous deed. The military expedition conducted by Clark was crowned by the diplomacy of Jay and our commissioners in

Paris in 1783; through the boldness of the one and the sagacity of the other, the American Nation was enabled to fix the western boundaries of the United States at the Mississippi river, rather than at the Allegheny Mountains.

All the glory of this daring enterprise and its vast results belong to Clark, as he alone conceived the plan and carried it to completion. In appreciation of the services so rendered, the Act of Virginia of December 20, 1783, provided, among other things, "that a quantity not exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land, promised by this State, shall be allowed and granted to the then Colonel (now General) George Rogers Clark, and to the officers and soldiers of his regiment, who marched with him when the forts of Kaskaskia and St. Vincent's were reduced, and to the officers and soldiers who have since been incorporated into the same regiment, to be laid off in one tract, the length of which is not to exceed double the breadth, in such place on the northwest side of the Ohio as a majority of the officers shall choose and to be afterwards divided among the said officers and soldiers in due proportion, according to the laws of Virginia."

By the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, passed by Congress, providing for the government of the territory lying north and west of the Ohio river, and also for its future division, it was distinctly stated in Article 5 thereof, that the territory should be divided into no less than three States, and, at its option, Congress might form one or two more, thus limiting the number of States to five. The southern boundary of the two northern States was provided as "an east and westerly line drawn through the southern bend or extension of Lake Michigan." Ohio and Indiana were admitted into the Union, with the prescribed northern boundary at 40 degrees and 39 minutes north latitude.

When came the time to admit Illinois into the Union as a State, Nathaniel Popé, then the delegate from the Territory in Congress, introduced an amendment to the bill, which was adopted, establishing the northern boundary of the State at 42 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude. The year 1818 is important not only on account of its being the birth year of the State, but because of this extension of its northern boundary. The line as originally prescribed would

inclusion, practical law more arduously than ever
before - Always a whig in politics, and generally
on the whig electoral ticket, (making active cam-
pains - I was losing interest in politics, when
the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused
me again - What I have done since then is
pretty well known -

If any personal description of me is thought ~~worth~~
desirable, it may be seen, I am, in height, six
feet, four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing, on
average, one hundred and eighty pounds; dark
complexion, with coarse black hair, and grey eyes -
No other marks or bands recollected -

Hon. J. W. Fell.

Yours very truly
Abraham Lincoln



Washington, D.C. March 26. 1862

We the undersigned hereby certify That the
foregoing statement is in the hand
writing of Abraham Lincoln.

David Davis
Lyman Humbull
Charles Sumner

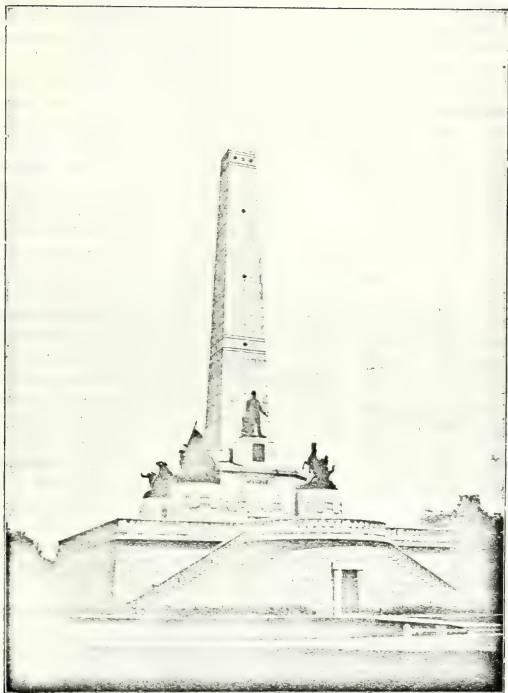
have deprived Illinois of a lake coast line, which has proven of such great value to the State, and, it is safe to say, to the Nation as well. In 1778, and even when the State was admitted into the Union, the need of a coast line was not so apparent. Northern Illinois was then a howling wilderness. Its early settlers came down the Ohio and up the Mississippi. The vast alluvial tracts known as "the American bottoms" had no means or use for transportation, except the great river, but, if the future development of the State had been confined to the river, Illinois would have been limited in its resources, and its people the poorer. Without the coast line on the lake, intercourse with the East would have been cut off. The Puritan population, with New England ideas, would never have come in to modify the sentiments of the people who were under the influence of the interests of the Southern States. If the extension had not been made, Illinois would have lost fifty miles of territory and fourteen counties—the very counties which later by their vote aided in determining the slavery question, so far as Illinois was concerned, and in the middle of the nineteenth century saved the State to the Union, and gave Abraham Lincoln to the United States as President. The East and the West, through the foresight of Judge Pope, became bound together, and the tie which so bound them was not only that of commercial interest, but the ideas and moral standards of the people; and, because of this tie, the American Union of States could not be, was not, and never can be, dissolved. Had it not been for the amendment of Judge Pope, Chicago would have certainly been lost to Illinois, and possibly to the Nation. Without the Illinois Central railroad and the Illinois and Michigan canal, and the facilities for growth afforded thereby, Chicago would never have become the great city and center of commercial enterprise it now is. Truly it can be said that the vision of a city by the lake, in the mind of a great man from Illinois, marked an epoch in the history of that State, and helped determine the destiny of our Nation.

Following the war of 1812, the "Illinois Country" was a land of peace, and for fifteen years people from the East and South fairly swarmed to settle upon its fertile prairies, beyond the watercourses, and away from the woodland. Down the St. Lawrence and across the lakes, as well as from New York and Virginia, the Carolinas and

Kentucky, by way of the rivers, they came. Those from a certain locality settled in some particular district, and small towns sprang up in a night, in the midst of surrounding wilderness. The region north and west of the Illinois river, however, remained sparsely settled, the only means of communication between the distant settlements in Northern Illinois being dim trails across the unbroken prairies, over which Indians, sullen at being steadily pushed back by the white invasion, still swarmed in search of game.

The discovery of lead at Galena resulted in the establishment of a coach road between that mining community and Peoria, known as "Kellogg's Trail," opened as early as 1672, along which were a few scattered villages, most of them named after some conspicuous settler or local character—"Old Man Kellogg," at Kellogg's Grove; John Dixon, at Dixon's Ferry; "Dad Joe," at Dad Joe's Grove; and Charles S. Boyd, at Boyd's Grove, etc. There were also collections of houses and small settlements at LaSalle, Ottawa and Newark, and perhaps three hundred people at Chicago, in cabins, protected by Fort Dearborn; and between these, upon widely separated farms, were the homes of the pioneers of Illinois—the men and the women who faced the dangers of a savage foe, endured the cold of winter and the heat of summer, who shook with chills and malaria, who suffered and toiled while they converted the broad prairies of Illinois into prosperous farms, dotted here and there by busy cities, and who by thrift, energy and industry, blazed the way for the development of a great State which was to play so important a part in determining the destiny of a great nation.

In the year 1804, General Harrison negotiated a treaty with the Indians, wherein the Red Man agreed to withdraw beyond the Mississippi, reserving only the right to till the ancient fields and hunt in Illinois, until the arrival of the "homesteader." This treaty was afterwards ratified by a Federation of Indian Tribes in full council, at Fort Armstrong. In the year 1828 the land in the immediate vicinity of the Rock River was surveyed, platted, thrown open to settlement, and actually occupied, and the Indian tribes given notice to vacate the territory, as per the terms of the treaty. Keokuk and his followers did so. Black Hawk, then sixty years of age, with a long and successful leadership, became jealous of the encroachment by



LINCOLN MONUMENT, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

the white men, and attempted to rally the western tribes to resistance. In this enterprise he met with but little success, and gathered about him only a few of the most restless and reckless. The settlers allowed Indians to remain in the neighborhood of the mouth of the Rock River and hunt and till their "old fields" by an informal and verbal agreement. This added nothing to their legal right, but it did encourage them in their determination to resist removal. They planted their corn and reaped their harvests, hunted, and had their feasts, but were at all times sullen. They made no display of open hostilities, but after the fall hunt was over they began to collect in their accustomed camp and listen to the advice of the old chief, Black Hawk. A series of petty depredations followed, cattle and horses were driven off and killed, and property destroyed, but no settler was harmed. In this, Black Hawk displayed diplomatic shrewdness. He determined that, if a war was to be, the settlers must begin it and strike the first blow, the wily chief believing that then he could rally to his aid all the allied tribes to defend their ancient rights.

Complaint of these incursions reached Governor Reynolds, who at once requested regular troops under General Gaines to expel the invaders; and at the same time issued a call for volunteers to guard the frontier, and to which call fifteen hundred mounted men responded. The campaign following, resulted in many skirmishes, and finally the battle of "The Bad Ax," in which one hundred and fifty Indians were killed outright, and many hundred drowned attempting to escape by swimming the river.² It was a war of short duration, but it was marked by many acts of particular bravery and heroism.

In this war were engaged two notable figures. Colonel Zachary Taylor, afterwards President of the United States, marched at the head of four hundred regulars, and among the private soldiers was Abraham Lincoln. When Mr. Lincoln first volunteered, he was a candidate for the captaincy of his company, with a certain William Kirkpatrick as a rival. The two candidates were placed a short distance away from the men, who were requested to "fall in" behind the man of their choice. Lincoln was overwhelmingly and "hilar-

2. L. P. Brockett, M. D., in his "Life and Times of Abraham Lincoln," says that Lincoln did not participate in the battle of "The Bad Ax."

iously elected," April 21st, 1832. Upon the disbanding of the company, he re-enlisted as a private in Captain Elijah Iles's company, May 23rd, 1832, and was mustered into service by Lieutenant Robert Anderson, who had been assigned to the position of inspector-general on the staff of Governor Reynolds, with the rank of colonel. This was he who as General Anderson, thirty years later, so gallantly defended Fort Sumter when Lincoln was President. For his services in the Black Hawk War, besides his pay of \$11 per month, Lincoln received two bounty land warrants.

Warrant No. 52,076 for 40 acres, issued under the act of Sept. 28, 1850, (9 Stat. 520), was granted to Mr. Lincoln for his service as captain, 4th Illinois Volunteers, in the Black Hawk War. This warrant was located by Mr. Lincoln through his attorney in fact, duly appointed for that purpose only, at the Dubuque (Iowa) Land Office, July 21, 1854, on the n.-w. $\frac{1}{4}$, s.-w. $\frac{1}{4}$, sec. 29, t. 84 n., r. 15 w., Iowa. This land was patented to Mr. Lincoln, June 1, 1855, and the patent is recorded in Vol. 280, p. 21, record of miscellaneous military grants in the General Land Office in Washington, D. C. The land is situated in Tama county, Iowa, the county seat of which is Toledo.

Warrant No. 68,645, for 120 acres, issued under the act of March 3, 1855, (10 Stat., 701), was also granted to Mr. Lincoln for his service in the Black Hawk War, December 27, 1859, at the Council Bluffs (Iowa) local Land Office. Mr. Lincoln in person located said warrant on the e. $\frac{1}{2}$ n.-e. $\frac{1}{4}$ and n.-w. $\frac{1}{4}$ n. e. $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. 18, t. 84 n., r. 39 w., Iowa. This land was patented to Mr. Lincoln, September 10, 1860, and the patent is recorded in vol. 468, p. 53, record of miscellaneous military grants, in the General Land Office, Washington, D. C. The land is situated in Crawford county, Iowa, the county seat of which is Denison.³

3. By a curious error, Henry C. Whitney, a personal friend of Mr. Lincoln, and a fellow law practitioner, in his "Lincoln, the Citizen," named the 120 acre grant to Mr. Lincoln as being situated in Illinois.

The author is under obligations to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, Washington, D. C., for the explicit information given above as to the land warrants. The Commissioner writes: "These warrants do not appear to be on file in this office at this time (Aug. 24, 1918). They appear to have been used by the Bureau of Pensions, Department of the Interior, in connection with its exhibit at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, and it is presumed the warrants are in the files of the Bureau of Pensions."



INFANTRY GROUP, LINCOLN MONUMENT, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
Other Groups are Cavalry, Artillery and Navy.

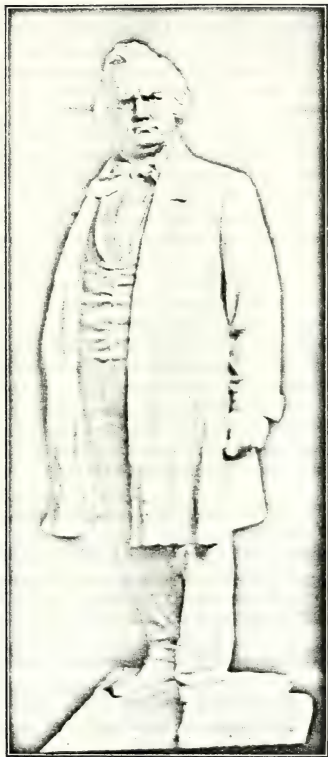
The year 1824 is important in that there was settled forever, so far as Illinois was concerned, the slavery question, and the settlement of that question by that State went far towards its settlement in the Nation. The first slaves were brought into Illinois in 1720 by the French: the right to hold them was recognized by the edict of Louis XIII, and reaffirmed by Louis XV. When the Territory was ceded to Great Britain in 1763, it was provided that "those who become subjects of her Britannic Majesty shall enjoy all the rights, privileges and liberties of trade, as the old subjects of the king," which included the right to hold slaves, and such right was not disturbed by the conquest of Clark in behalf of Virginia. Nor was slavery interfered with until the Ordinance of 1787 was adopted. In this instrument, which was the organic law for the government of the Northwest Territory, it was provided, by the terms of Article VI, that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territory."

However, the iniquitous seed of slavery had been sown. The noxious weed had taken root, and the question was a constant source of agitation. Besides, the Constitution of 1818 provided in Section 2, Article VI, "That no person bound to labor in any other State, shall be hired to labor in this State, except within the tract reserved for salt works near Shawneetown, nor even at that place for a longer period than one year at a time; nor shall it be allowed there after the year 1825." The operation of these salt works was very lucrative, and the industry was responsible to a very large degree for the pro-slavery agitation. Before Illinois was admitted into the Union as a State, these works were leased to individuals who worked the same with slaves imported from Kentucky and Tennessee. After the State was admitted into the Union and the Constitution adopted, containing the clause referred to, it was apparent that the lease to the salt works, about to expire, could not be renewed. Those interested in the industry began to look about for some method by which the monopoly owned by them would not be terminated. It was decided by the general inspector of the salt industry, a Major Willis Hargrave, that an amendment to the constitution would be the only sure remedy. The election of a legislature favorable to such an amendment was at once undertaken, and

the campaign was conducted under his direction and leadership and, after fraudulently disqualifying one of the members opposed to slavery, was successful, and a resolution calling a convention to amend the Constitution of Illinois, legalizing slavery within the State, was passed by the third General Assembly, by a majority of one.

The following eighteen months were marked with strenuous toil and intense feeling, on the part of both the friends and opponents of slavery. Governor Coles, who on his way to Illinois from Virginia set his slaves free upon reaching free territory, gave his entire salary of \$4,000 to the campaign; besides, he made a vigorous speaking tour of the State in the interest of those who opposed the amendment, visiting every county, and is entitled to much credit for keeping Illinois a free State. Each side worked to the uttermost, and on election day every effort was made by both factions to bring to the polls the sick, the lame, the blind and the halt, in order that they might cast a vote either for or against the proposition. Pro-slavery lost by an overwhelming majority, and legalized slavery was forever forbidden in Illinois.

But the cause still continue to cast its shadow over the State. On the south was Kentucky, and on the west was Missouri, both Slave States; while half of the population of the Prairie State were in sympathy with and believers in the institution. All kinds of lawlessness were indulged in; kidnapping of negroes was practiced; neighborhoods, churches and families were divided; mob violence was resorted to; and Elijah P. Lovejoy gave up his life in Alton, because in his newspaper he advocated the abolition of slavery in fact as well as in name. The first shot fired at Lexington attracted all eyes to the birth of a New Nation founded in Freedom. The shot that was fired in Alton was the response of brave men who defended Lovejoy and his press. It was the first armed resistance to a system which was a sin against God, a crime against nature, and a stumbling block in the way of American civilization. The lifeless form of that stern unyielding man from New England lay at the feet of a mob; his crimson blood stained the waters of the Mississippi but for a moment, then mingled with the mighty flood, and rippled on to the sea. But the struggle had been begun. Truth and justice had grap-



STATUE OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS
Springfield, Illinois

pled with wrong and oppression, and, before the end came, many streams ran crimson with the blood of brave men whose lives were sacrificed in vindication of the cause for which Lovejoy fell.

In 1858, we have the Lincoln and Douglas debates, which lost for Mr. Lincoln the Senatorship, but made him president in 1860. Stephen A. Douglas, as chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, was largely responsible for the law of 1854 which repealed the Missouri Compromise so far as the same related to the unorganized portion of the Louisiana Purchase lying north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes, and through it was opened to slavery or freedom, as the future inhabitants might determine, under the principles of "home rule," or the doctrine of "popular sovereignty." He thus brought upon himself the opposition and denunciation of all the enemies of slavery and those opposed to its farther extension. In 1858 Douglas was the Democratic nominee for re-election to the United States Senate, while Abraham Lincoln was the nominee of the Republican party. The Lincoln-Douglas debates, local in their inception, became national in the final results. Mr. Lincoln lost the senatorship, but from that day he was the leader of his party, and the recognized champion of liberty and the rights of men. The stand which Douglas took divided his party, and Mr. Lincoln became President in 1860. The Southern States withdrew from the Union, and the words of the great Emancipator, "a house divided against itself cannot stand," were exemplified. The house was divided; it was reunited. It did stand; it will forever stand.

In the struggle which followed, the history of Illinois deals peculiarly, for it was from the prairies of Illinois that came the two men who completed the work which was begun by Washington, and proclaimed in and by the Declaration of Independence—the two men who cemented the discordant elements of the nation, who above all others may justly be termed the Saviors of the American Union of States—Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant. It is to a citizenship which today exemplifies the character, works and deeds of those two men who above all others typify the unity and solidity of the Republic, that the Allied Powers of the World look, as the only possible Saviors of the cause of Freedom, Righteousness and Democracy. Be-

fore we can truly appreciate their greatness or place a proper value upon the services rendered by them not only to our nation, but to the world as well, we must look at the conditions which confronted President Lincoln at the beginning of his administration, and in no place are they more strikingly portrayed than by Isaac N. Arnold, in his "Life of Abraham Lincoln:"

"When he became President, the Ship of State was tossing among the rocks, driven hither and thither by a fearful tornado. He found the treasury empty, the national credit gone, the little nucleus of an army and navy scattered and disarmed, many of the officers rebels, and those who were loyal, strangers. The party which elected him was in the minority, he having received but a plurality of the popular vote. The old democratic party, which had ruled most of the time for half a century, was hostile, and a large portion of it, even in the North, in sympathy with the insurgents; while his own party was made up of discordant elements. Nor had he or his party then acquired prestige and the confidence of the people. It is the exact truth to say that when he entered the White House, he was the object of personal and unfavorable prejudice with a majority of the people, and of contempt to the powerful minority. He entered upon the work of restoring the Union without sympathy from any of the great powers of Western Europe. Those which were not open enemies manifested a cold neutrality, or a secret hostility, and none of them extended to him and his administration any cordial good will or moral aid. The London Times gave expression to the hope and belief of the ruling class, not only of Great Britain, but of France, when it said exultingly 'The great republic is no more. The bubble is burst.' Yet in spite of all, this inexperienced man of the prairies, by his sagacity, his sound judgment, his wisdom, his integrity and his trust in God, crushed the most stupendous rebellion, and one supported by armies more vast, resources greater, and an organization more perfect than any which ever before had undertaken the dismemberment of a nation. He not only united and held together against bitter and contending factions, his own party, but strengthened it by winning the confidence and support of the best part of all parties. He composed the bitter quarrels of rival military leaders and at length discovered and placed at the head of his armies the skill and ability which secured military success. Gradually he won the respect, the confidence, the good will, and sympathy of all nations and peoples. His own countrymen learned that he was honest

and patriotic, that he was as unselfish and as magnanimous as he was true, and they re-elected him almost by acclamation, and after a series of brilliant victories, he overcame and destroyed all armed opposition. Ever keeping pace with public sentiment (and this was a public sentiment he himself had created), he struck blow after blow at the institution of slavery, until he proclaimed emancipation, and crowned his work by an amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting slavery throughout the Republic (as the same had been incorporated into the organic law of Illinois in 1818, and reaffirmed by the electorate in 1824) 'thus realizing the dream of his early years. And all this he accomplished within the brief period of four years.'

In the days when the forces of Freedom seemed to be shaken and the armies of autocracy apparently successful, the Champions of Liberty, from the four corners of the earth, turned their eyes to America, and emissaries from the nations which once said "The Great Republic is no more," journeyed to America's Sacred Shrines, and the "Hero of the Marne" with teardimmed eyes and reverent hand laid his wreath upon the bier, and departed with the words of Lincoln, not only upon his lips, but stamped upon his heart: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, to the end, do our duty;" and at the Tomb on Riverside Drive, he became imbued with that indomitable will of the Great Soldier which resulted in the restoration of the Union.

The struggles of the men of 1776, all the hardships which they endured, the surrender of Cornwallis to Washington, and the subsequent events which resulted in the establishment of the American nation, based upon the idea of a government, "by the consent of the governed," would have been effort in vain, had it not been for the Immortal Lincoln, who said, "That this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth," and for the resolute will of Grant and the men who followed him to Appomattox.

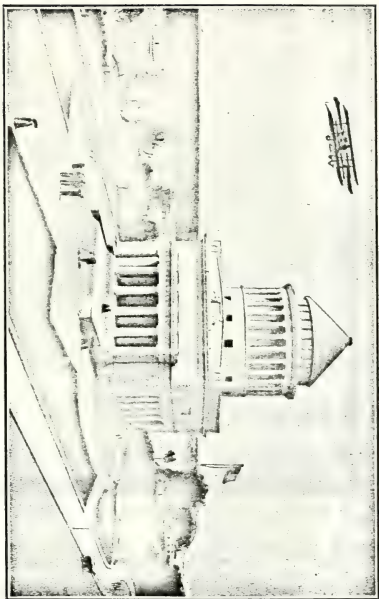
The man who had implicit faith that "Right makes Might," as well as the man who had the material force and power to vindicate that faith, which both faith and power are today exemplified in the

CENTENNIAL OF ILLINOIS

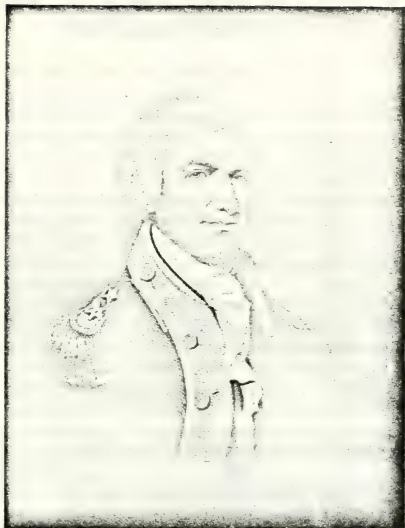
character and deeds of the men who are fighting for Freedom and the Rights of Men, came from the *Prairies of Illinois*.

AUTHOR'S NOTE.—The principal authorities on Illinois History, covered by the foregoing article, and upon which the same is based are: "The American Revolution," by John Fiske, Vol. II, Chap. x. "Decisive Dates in Illinois History," by Lottie E. Jones. "The Winning of the West," by Theodore Roosevelt, Part II, Chapters 6-7-8. Randall Parrish's "Historic Illinois." "Critical Periods in American History," John Fiske, Chap. 1. "The History of the American people," by Woodrow Wilson. "Illinois Historical Collections—Lincoln-Douglas Debates," Vol. III. "History of Illinois, 1673 to 1873," by Alexander Davidson and Bernard Stuve. Isaac N. Arnold's "Life of Abraham Lincoln." "Life of John Marshall," by Albert J. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 210, "Legislation and Council of State," with footnote. "Abraham Lincoln, a History," by John G. Nicolay and John Hay.





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Gen. Arthur St. Clair—First Governor of the Northwest Territory

JOHN N. BOUCHER, GREENSBURG, PENN. 1894



UNDER the justly celebrated Ordinance of 1787, Major General Arthur St. Clair was appointed first Governor of the Northwestern Territory. This territory embraced all of the country then belonging to us west of Pennsylvania and north of the Ohio river. It now forms the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, and has a population of nearly twenty millions. Since Illinois is soon to celebrate her Centennial of Statehood, it may not be amiss to look into the life and character of this noted man.

He was the son of William and Margaret (Balfour) St. Clair, and was born at Thurso Castle, in Scotland, on March 23rd, 1734, old style. The St. Clairs were of Norman origin, and the family became one of the most noted in British history. In the line of the St. Clairs were knights, earls, lords and dukes, many of whom had battled for English and Scotch supremacy, and whose names have been preserved for centuries in the poetic and legendary lore of English story. Many poets sang of their illustrious deeds, and the sweetest singer of them all tells in "The Song of Harold" how the Orcades were once held under the princely sway of the St. Clairs:

"Then from his seat with lofty air,
Rose Harold, bard of brave St. Clair;
St. Clair who, feasting with Lord Home,
Had with that lord to battle come.
Harold was born where restless seas
Howl round the storm-swept Orcades;
Where once St. Clair held princely sway
O'er isle and islet, strait and bay;
Still nods their palace to its fall,
Thy pride and sorrow, fair Kirkwall."

By reverses of fortune which came to their immediate forbears,

his parents had lost their extensive ancestral possessions, and at the time of his birth were without great influence at the Court of St. James or in Scotland. The estate then held, was but a remnant of the original, and it was entailed by the laws of primogeniture, so that Arthur, the youngest son, could not hope to inherit even a part of the encumbered possessions. His education therefore was to fit him for a profession, and in early manhood he entered the University of Edinburgh, intending later to take up the study of medicine. On the death of William, his father, the young student moved to London, that he might have the benefit of a hospital practice in the world's greatest metropolis. There he entered the office of Dr. William Hunter, then regarded as one of the first physicians of the city.

About that time a war broke out between England and France, the American part of which is known as the French and Indian War. Murray, Mouekton and the brave, romantic young Englishman, General James Wolfe, were raising an army to carry the war against the French on the St. Lawrence river in Canada, the whole of which was then under the dominion of Louis XV. William Pitt had succeeded the weak Duke of Newcastle as premier of England. Almost the first work of his great administration was to inspire the young Briton with an abiding faith in the new ministry. War was shaking both Europe and America. The streets of London were filled with the sound of the bugle and the measured tread of the grenadiers. Ambitious young men were anxious to enlist in the service of the crown. St. Clair could not resist. His family secured an ensign's commission for him, dated May 13, 1757, and he sailed for America in the early part of 1758. He was with the army of General Jeffrey Amherst, and in the division that was commanded by General James Wolfe. On April 17, 1759, he was made a lieutenant, and held that rank when engaged in one of the most daring and romantic military expeditions in American history. He was with the army when, under cover of darkness, it silently floated down the St. Lawrence and landed under the shadowy Heights of Abraham, since known as Wolfe's Cave. He heard Wolfe repeat the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," which the poet Thomas Gray had just pub-

lished to the world, of which the General said he would rather be the author than to take Quebec:

"The curfew tolls the knell of parting day,
The lowing herd winds slowly o'er the lea,
The plowman homeward plods his weary way
And leaves the world to darkness and to me."

He was with them, too, when they clambered up the hitherto impassable Heights, and was near the brave young Englishman when he received his death wound, when the shout of victory recalled for a moment his departing spirit, and was with him when he died with the song of battle on his lips, at the moment of success.

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
All that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour,—
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

To add to his military training, he was with the Sixtieth Royal American Regiment, which had been organized by the Duke of Cumberland for services in the Colonies, and in the same battalion were Charles Lawrence, Robert Monckton, James Murray, and Henry Bouquet, names without whose brave deeds the French and Indian War annals would be tame indeed.

When Quebec was captured from the French, the fortress was garrisoned by the English, and St. Clair, among other young officers, remained with the army. After a few months' occupation, a part of the Sixtieth Regiment was sent to Boston. St. Clair accompanied them, bearing letters and documents for General Thomas Gage, his kinsman. While stationed there he became acquainted with Phoebe Bayard, with whom he was united in marriage at Trinity Church, Boston, on May 15, 1760, by the rector, Rev. William Hooper. She was the daughter of Balthazar Bayard, and a niece of Governor James Bowdoin, of Massachusetts. With her he received a legacy of about \$14,000, a princely fortune, as fortunes were in those days. Their social standing opened up to them every avenue of cultured association in Boston. His wife was related to the foremost families of the city and of New York, the Winthrops, Jays, Verplancks and Stuyvesants, and his own connection with General Gage, the commandant of Boston, added military luster to their prospective

future. But the same spirit which prompted him to turn from the culture of his native land, pushed him westward, and as early as 1765 a military permit to a tract of land near Fort Pitt (now Pittsburgh) was granted to him by General Gage.

The French were expelled from the Ohio Valley in 1758 by General John Forbes, but for years the English government and the Penns were compelled to keep a road and a line of forts connecting it with the East, that is with a base of supplies. St. Clair was accordingly made commander of Fort Ligonier in 1767, and from that time on was a citizen of Western Pennsylvania. Because of his thorough education, his military service under Wolfe, and his wealth, he very soon became the most prominent man west of the Allegheny mountains. It was he who took the lead in the long contest between Virginia and Pennsylvania for possession of the lands surrounding the head waters of the Ohio, now known as Southwestern Pennsylvania, one of the most productive sections of the Union. To defend it was indeed an herculean task, made all the more so by home opposition, for Virginia claiming the territory, had sold lands and settled hundreds of families in that section. Thinking themselves still citizens of Virginia, they were loathe to see the Pennsylvania claim triumph. The Quakers in the East were the thriftiest people in Pennsylvania, but they would not assist in the contest, for they were religiously opposed to war. They were also opposed to the Penns, then Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, who had embraced the religion of the Church of England, and the Quakers regarded them as renegades from the Quaker religion of their revered father, William Penn. The Quakers talked of the sinfulness of war, wore broad-brimmed hats, defied Lindley Murray in the use of the English language, and devoted themselves to the acquisition of wealth and the enjoyment of the comforts it brought. Furthermore, the middle counties had been settled by German peasants, who, having known but little else than servitude in Europe, were delighted with the new enjoyment of liberty. They hated the idea of military service, for it reminded them of the oppressive armies of Germany, from whence they had fled. Speaking only the German tongue, they neither knew nor cared who owned the land in the

Ohio Valley, so long as they could by industry increase their herds and widen their productive acres.

Then Benjamin Franklin was the intellectual and political leader of Pennsylvania. But the feudal system which had grown up among the Penns was extremely obnoxious to him, though he saw the danger of the Virginia claims on the Ohio. He therefore opposed any measure of the administration which would add strength to the Penns. These matters left the defense against Virginia mostly to a divided settlement among whom the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, the Catholics and the German Lutherans, predominated, and these in turn were equally intolerant of each other.

St. Clair's greatest difficulty was to hold the people together and keep them in the face of all this opposition from abandoning their homes and leaving all to Virginia. Against all these enemies, and the Indians as well, St. Clair almost singlehanded, held the settlers together, and all documentary evidence tends to prove conclusively that but for his efforts Southwestern Pennsylvania would have been abandoned to Virginia. What the effect would have been had this section, with its unnumbered millions of natural wealth, been peopled and managed by the lassitude of the Cavalier rather than by the energy of the Scotch-Irish, the reader can readily imagine. The question was finally settled by arbitration, and Pennsylvania received all the territory that St. Clair, on the part of the Penns, contended for.

St. Clair's work in the Revolution can be accurately traced from the histories of that period. Though he had been an English army officer, his extensive correspondence indicates that there was no danger of his becoming a Tory. His espousal of the American cause was one of the most significant acts of his life. The centuries of royal blood in his veins, his every tie of kindred, his services in the royal army and his close association with the Penns and other Tories of Philadelphia, apparently might have bound him indissolubly to the English cause. But these were as gossamer threads to him when they conflicted with the rights of the oppressed colonies. It has been said of him that, "when he drew his sword he threw away its scabbard." When he entered the war he wrote, "I hold that no man has

a right to withhold his services when his country needs them. Be the sacrifice ever so great, it must be yielded on the altar of patriotism."

His first appointment was to raise an army to chastise the Indians in the Detroit region. There were no funds for him, but he enlisted 450 men who were to furnish their own arms, horses, forage and provisions, and to march at once. General Benedict Arnold was then storming Quebec, and when his expedition failed, the Continental Congress called St. Clair and his forces into the Revolution. He entered under the commission of a colonel, and his first duty was to make preparation for war, rather than to actively engage in it. His work was in and around Philadelphia, where he recruited, drilled and provisioned volunteers.

From Philadelphia he was ordered to take six companies to Quebec when Arnold was severely wounded. General Montgomery, first in command, was killed, Thompson had died, and General Sullivan was in command. The knowledge which St. Clair had gained concerning that region when with Wolfe, made him an important addition to the northern army. He suggested a fortification on a point at Three Rivers, to prevent the British transports from reaching Quebec. His plan was adopted, and with his army, reinforced by Thompson's troops, St. Clair was appointed to guard the point. The battle of Three Rivers and the retreat was managed by St. Clair. Canada did not desire to be annexed to the United States, but preferred to remain with England. The battle was, from a scientific military standpoint, one of the best contested fields among all the battles of the Revolution. The army retired from Canada with flying colors.

In August, 1776, St. Clair was made a brigadier-general, and was called to Washington's army, then in its well managed retreat before General Howe across New Jersey. He was now for the first time under the eye and direct command of the Great Chief, and fought under him at White Plains. He was with the army on the stormy night in December when they crossed the Delaware on their march to Trenton, and, in conjunction with General Sullivan, commanded the division of the army which took the river road from the crossing to Trenton, while Washington and General Nathanael Greene led the other division. He shared in no small degree the vic-

tory over the Hessians, and no battle in the Revolution did as much to strengthen the languishing cause of the colonies as the battle of Trenton. It is claimed by all of St. Clair's biographers, and also by St. Clair himself, that it was he who suggested to Washington the movement of the army which, a few days after the battle of Trenton, culminated in the victory at Princeton. The great historian, George Bancroft, labors in vain to prove that this claim is without foundation. He labors thus with no apparent reason, save to glorify Washington, for like many writers, he seems partial to the great chief. He bases his theory that Washington conceived the movement, on the report of the march; but the report does not cover or refer to the origin of the plan. There is, on the other hand, no authority whatever to refute St. Clair's positive statement, which is corroborated by statements of a number of staff officers. It is not denied by any one that General St. Clair directed the details of the march, and that his brigade, composed of New Hampshire, Connecticut and Massachusetts troops, with two six-pounders, marched at the head of the advancing army with Washington. For St. Clair's part in these two battles, Trenton and Princeton, he was made a major general on the recommendation of Washington a few weeks afterwards. It may be mentioned in this connection, that he was the only officer from Pennsylvania who became a major-general during the Revolution, though others were brevetted when the war closed.

The outlook of the Colonial army in the summer of 1777 was a very gloomy one. The soldiers were but half clad, half fed, and almost ready to disband. This condition prompted the British to greater efforts, hoping to stamp out the rebellion at once. Their purpose was to divide the colonies by a line of English fortresses going up the Hudson, thence by Lake George and Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence river. Burgoyne's army was already in Canada, and he was instructed to march south by these lakes and unite with Sir Henry Clinton's army which was to pass up the Hudson from New York. This would have hopelessly divided the colonies by stopping all communication between them, and would have probably compelled our armies to disband. Ticonderoga, the same which the bold Ethan Allan had captured and which Francis Parkman calls the "school ground of the American Revolution," was then in posses-

sion of the colonists. It is situated between Lake Champlain and Lake George. While this was held by the American army a union of Burgoyne's and Clinton's forces was impossible. A quarrel between Generals Schuyler and Gates necessitated a new commander. Congress, perhaps because of St. Clair's newly won laurels, sent him to take command of Ticonderoga, and to hold it at all hazards. He was given 2,200 men in all, a force that was entirely inadequate, though it was probably all the weak army could furnish.

Most of the few victories of the American army in the Revolution were won by taking desperate chances, and no one was more willing to make the sacrifice, with even the faintest hope of success, than General St. Clair. Burgoyne's army came down the lake and attacked Ticonderoga in June, 1777. Nearby was a high rocky promontory, since called Mount Defiance, which overlooked and practically commanded Ticonderoga. This was inaccessible to St. Clair's army because of its weakness, and moreover his army was too small to hold both Ticonderoga and Mount Defiance. General Arnold, a few months before, had asked for not less than twenty thousand men to hold it. Burgoyne found he could not capture Ticonderoga without fortifying Mount Defiance. He therefore, by means of ropes and tackle, hoisted cannon to its crest, and placed there a sufficient force to command the fort below. The French, English and American officers had all regarded Mount Defiance as inaccessible to heavy artillery, but now its crest bristled with English guns.

St. Clair and his officers at once agreed that against such a fortification even ten thousand men could not hold Ticonderoga, and that his army must either retreat or be captured. The army retreated the following night, going towards Hubbardston and Castleton, thirty miles away. The British followed them, and several small engagements ensued, in which St. Clair lost heavily. But to follow his forces, Burgoyne was compelled to divide his army. As St. Clair retreated, he blocked the way with deep ditches, destroyed bridges, and felled timber, making pursuit still more difficult. His army then formed a nucleus to which Generals Gates and Arnold added their forces, and the united army under Gates attacked Burgoyne. Clinton's army, with provisions, was delayed in its journey

up the Hudson, and in the meantime the forces under Gates were increased by hardy volunteers, so that in a few weeks the entire army of Burgoyne, waiting for Clinton's tardy relief, was forced to surrender at the battle of Saratoga, though Clinton's army was less than fifty miles away. Creasy has seen fit to include this as one of the "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World."

Reporting the surrender of Ticonderoga and the retreat, St. Clair wrote these words: "I know I could have saved my reputation by sacrificing the army; but were I to do so, I should forfeit that which the world could not restore, and which it cannot take away—the approbation of my own conscience." On July 14, before Burgoyne's defeat, he wrote to Congress: "I have the most sanguine hopes that the progress of the enemy will be checked, and I may yet have the satisfaction to experience that, by abandoning a post, I have eventually saved a state." This proves almost conclusively that St. Clair foresaw a brilliant victory over the English, and was willing to sacrifice himself if, by so doing, he could save his army from capture and thus bring about the defeat of Burgoyne.

All blame for the loss of Ticonderoga was for a time put on St. Clair, who explained the matter to Washington and Jay, and quietly asked for a court of inquiry. A very able one was finally granted, with Major General Benjamin Lincoln as president. They heard the evidence and in their findings entirely exonerated St. Clair, "of all and every charge against him, with the highest honor." Then the tide turned somewhat in his favor, for the people saw that, as a direct result of his surrender, the English army had sustained the heaviest loss ever known in America, this, after all their preparations and glowing prospects, and that the Colonies were yet intact. St. Clair was warmly congratulated by the leading men of the nation, but the letter from Lafayette was perhaps the most cherished of all. "I cannot tell you," wrote the eminent Frenchman, "how much my heart was interested in anything that happened to you, and how much I rejoiced, not that you were acquitted, but that your conduct was examined."

St. Clair was criticised for surrendering Fort Ticonderoga before he was attacked. His only alternative was to remain, as General Greene did shortly before at Fort Mifflin, and, like Greene,

needlessly sacrifice his army, which by retreat might have been saved to the Colonies. Upon several occasions, had Washington not retreated before he was attacked, his army would have been captured. Indeed, one of Washington's strongest points as a general was his ability to evade a contest and extricate his army, when there could be but one result if he gave battle.

Let us look further into St. Clair's reasons for retreating, for the facts brought out by the court of inquiry speak very eloquently in his favor. Burgoyne's army, when he met St. Clair, numbered 7,863, while St. Clair had less than 2,200, all of whom were ill fed, poorly armed, and but half-clad. Burgoyne surrendered 142 heavy guns, while St. Clair had less than 100 second-rate cannon of various sizes and they were served by inexperienced men. It is scarcely necessary to defend his retreat in this age of general intelligence. The "United States Gazette," in speaking of his plea before the court of inquiry, said: "His defense on that occasion is still extant, and exhibits a sample of profound generalship. While the English language shall be admired, it will continue to be an example of martial eloquence." It is easy now to see the wisdom of St. Clair's retreat, rather than to surrender his entire army, in which case Burgoyne's defeat could not have been brought about.

After this he was with the army at Brandywine and Valley Forge and was then detailed to organize Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops and send them to the front. When Arnold turned traitor Washington scarcely knew whom to trust, but with implicit confidence, he selected St. Clair to take charge of West Point, after which he was placed in command of Philadelphia. He was afterwards selected with Greene, Lafayette, Clinton, Knox, Stark, etc., as a member of the most noted military jury that ever sat in this country—to try the unfortunate Major André. They were selected because of their high character both as soldiers and civilians and because they were educated in the military history of foreign countries. They reported unanimously that André should be considered as a spy and should suffer death.

In the closing days of the great war, when the well worn armies had practically surrounded the British at Yorktown, St. Clair was daily in conference with Washington, and was not by any means

the least of those illustrious men who stood guard at the final moment, when the long contest was decided in favor of the colonies.

St. Clair is often regarded as a soldier only, while in reality he was one of the statesmen of the Revolutionary period and united a very extensive knowledge of letters, of history and of the classics with his military life. Shortly after the close of the Revolution, he was selected as a member of the Executive Council of his State, and in 1785 was elected a member of Congress. Even in the Council and in Congress, before party lines were drawn, he began to express opinions of government that were afterwards adopted by the Federalists. In 1787 he was elected President of Congress, the highest office in the government, a position which can be compared only with that of President of the United States. The latter position was created by the constitution of 1787, which therefore abolished the office of President of Congress. It was, however, the Congress over which he presided which provided for the convention by which the present constitution of the United States was formed.

His prerogatives as governor of the Northwestern Territory were very extensive. He was not only the executive officer of the Territory, but the law-giver as well. He appointed judges, and these, in council with himself, had the power to make laws for the government of the Territory. He erected counties and named them, appointed officers, built forts, founded and named towns, and held treaties with the Indians. Going down the Ohio river in 1791, he arrived at Fort Washington, and around it organized Hamilton county, naming it after the great constructive statesman, then the Secretary of the Treasury. To the town around the fort he gave the name of Cincinnati, after the society by that name consisting of officers of the Revolution, of which he was president of the Pennsylvania division.

His administration in the Northwestern Territory is too extensive a subject to be reviewed in this brief sketch. Governor Nash, at the Centennial of Ohio Statehood, said: "Our grandest glory arises from the fact that we have faithfully kept, during these one hundred years, all the precepts of the best law ever formed for the government of mankind, the great Ordinance of 1787, in making of which St. Clair took an active part."

In all this new country he again encountered hostile Indians who, having been driven westward, were constantly committing depredations on the Ohio frontier. General Josiah Harmar was accordingly sent out in 1790 to subdue them, but his army was badly defeated. In 1791 St. Clair was appointed commander-in-chief of the army, and was vested with a corresponding military power in the Territory. An army of 2,000 regular troops was at his disposal, and he had authority to increase it as he saw fit, by calling out the militia. In September, 1791, the army was assembled at Fort Washington, now Cincinnati. It was not by any means an ideal army, though there were three regiments of regulars in the infantry, two companies in the artillery, and one company of cavalry. As they journeyed towards the enemy, about 600 militia joined them, though by St. Clair's proclamation all should have been with them at Cincinnati, and should have been subjected to the severest discipline and drill. The march began on September 17, and, as usual in new countries, the army had to cut roads through the wilderness, which made its progress necessarily slow. On the Big Miami river they erected Fort Hamilton, and some distance farther on they erected Fort Washington and still later Fort Jefferson. At each fort a small garrison was left, for they were nearing the Indian country. Shortly after they left Fort Jefferson one of the militia regiments deserted bodily. Washington Irving in his admirable "Life of Washington" in referring to these militia, say: "They were picked and recruited from the worst element in Ohio. Enervated by debauchery, idleness, drunkenness, and every species of vice, it was impossible, in so short a time, to fit them for the arduous duties of Indian warfare. They were without discipline, and even the officers were not accustomed to being under a commander."

Such men were useless in a campaign, yet St. Clair was forced to send the First Regiment after the deserters, to prevent their waylaying the belated provisions, which was their avowed intention, and of which provisions his men were in urgent need. His effective army yet numbered about 1,400, and they moved to a point near the headwaters of the Wabash river, now in Mercer county. It was supposed that the main body of the Miami tribe of Indians was about twelve miles from the encampment. Here they meant to entrench them-

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selves and build such fortifications as would protect them, while they awaited the arrival of the First Regiment with the deserting militia. They encamped late and weary on November 3rd, and the General, with the engineers, immediately laid out plans for the proposed "works of defense" which they were to erect the day following.

St. Clair knew that his army was not in proper condition to meet the Indians, but the matter was urgent, for, emboldened by Harmar's defeat, the enemy was almost daily committing depredations on the settlers. He had learned in the Revolution, that a weak army can sometimes overcome a strong one, or by a desperate effort, grasp victory from defeat. The government at Philadelphia had urged him to immediate action. There is no doubt but that he could have conquered the enemy, with a reasonable time given to discipline his army, but winter was fast approaching, supplies were scarce and the sturdy settlers were calling for relief. "The President urges you," wrote the Secretary, "by every principle that is sacred, to stimulate your exertions in the highest degree and move as rapidly as the lateness of the season and the nature of the case will possibly admit." There was nothing left for St. Clair to do but to go against them at once.

A short time before the break of day on November 4, the General had a reveille sounded, which brought all troops to line ready for action. Thus they watched till the sun arose, when, there being no sign of danger reported to the outposts, the troops were dismissed to get rest and breakfast. But they had scarcely disbanded when a scattering volley of rifle shots came from the front. The Indians, having found the army in battle array, had delayed the attack until it broke ranks. At once the drums beat and the officers formed their ranks in line. The Indians, with their usual cunning, fired first on the militia, which at once fell back in confusion on the regulars. They were followed by swarms of Indians some of whom ran beyond the first ranks and tomahawked officers and soldiers who had been carried back to have their wounds dressed. The confusion was terrible.

St. Clair was suffering from a fever. Irving says: "The veteran St. Clair, unable to mount his horse, was borne about on a litter, and preserved his coolness in the midst of the peril and disaster, giving

his orders with judgment and self-possession." By his own suggestion, he was carried to a place where the firing seemed heaviest, and when Col. Drake, a Revolutionary officer of great bravery and experience, was trying to overcome the confusion and hold his lines steady, St. Clair directed them to make a vehement charge with bayonets. This at first promised good results, for many Indians, concealed in the tall grass, fled in confusion, but the soldiers were unable to overtake them. They soon returned seemingly in increased numbers, and a second bayonet charge was followed with the same results. The artillery was practically of no use, for the daring Indians killed the men and horses before they could render any service against the scattered and concealed foe. The regulars fought bravely and with much more system and effect than one might expect, but the confusion spread from the militia till it pervaded all the troops.

Behind trees and bushes and hidden in the tall grass, were apparently Indians without number. With their bullets came showers of arrows and the wounds from the latter seemed more painful and exasperating than gun-shot wounds. The soldiers were necessarily more or less in line, and this seemed only to aid the Indians in their peculiar style of warfare. The General did not require a letter to carry him from place to place, except in the beginning of the contest. When the battle raged and his forces began to wane, the excitement brought back his strength as though the vigor of his youth had been renewed. Eight balls passed through his clothes and hat, one of which cut a lock of hair from the side of his head. Two horses were killed under him just as he had been helped to mount them. For an hour or more no horse being near, he moved about on foot, and surprised all who saw him by the agility he displayed. When again well nigh exhausted, he was placed on a pack-horse, the only kind that could be procured, and though he was scarcely able to force the animal out of a walk, he rode him till the battle ended. Adjutant General Winthrop Sargent, in a private diary wrote particularly of "St. Clair's coolness and bravery though debilitated by illness." The battle lasted for about four hours when there was nothing left to do but to retreat, and this the army accomplished but with the greatest confusion. Hundreds of soldiers threw away their arms and fled toward the fort.

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When fourteen hundred men fought this infuriated mob of savages, struggling for their native land, it seems an insult to American heroism to have the event forever known as "St. Clair's Defeat." It is more fitting to commemorate their unrivaled bravery by calling it the "Battle of the Wabash." Though countless acts of heroism and daring courage, which have challenged the praise and admiration of four generations and which will live as long as any war stories of our border history, were performed, yet the result was, nevertheless most disastrous. There were 593 reported killed and 214 wounded. The brave general was among the last to leave the field.

After the result of the battle became known, a bitter feeling arose throughout the Union against St. Clair. The real situation, had it been understood, as it is now, would have thoroughly defended him against all blame, but the means of circulating the true story of the battle were extremely limited and most people knew nothing of it except the general result and the number of killed and wounded. At St. Clair's request therefore a congressional committee was appointed to investigate the entire affair and report their findings. The investigation disclosed a most disgraceful neglect in the commissary department over which the commander had no control and which alone would have rendered success almost impossible. It disclosed also that Captain Slough with a scouting party was sent out on the night of November 3rd and that he found Indians in large numbers. This he reported to General Butler who said he would report it to the commander, but he made no report whatever. Butler, though a man of fine ability and great courage, who lost his life in this battle, was disgruntled because of St. Clair's appointment. It was also disclosed that St. Clair had ordered Colonel Oldham to take four or five parties out an hour before daybreak the following morning. Early on the morning of the fourth he sent his adjutant general to see if they had started; they had not and then came the attack of the savages. The congressional committee reported as follows:

"The committee conceive it but justice to the commander-in-chief to say that, in their opinion the failure of the late expedition can in no respect be imputed to his conduct, either at any time before or

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during the action, but that, as his conduct in all preparatory arrangements was marked with peculiar ability and zeal, so his conduct during the action furnishes strong testimonials of his coolness and integrity."

St. Clair resigned and General Anthony Wayne succeeded him as commander-in-chief early in 1792. Through Washington St. Clair promptly tendered the benefit of his information concerning the army to his successor, whereupon the president replied: "Your wishes to afford your successor all the information of which you are capable, although unnecessary for any personal conviction, must be regarded as additional evidence of the goodness of your heart and your attachment to your country."

Both the government and Wayne profited by the lessons in Indian warfare. The whole country had awakened to the magnitude of the undertaking. A well equipped army, more than twice as large as St. Clair's, was given to Wayne. This army he drilled for over two years and selecting his own time he marched over the roads which St. Clair had opened, and in August, 1794, met the Indians at Fallen Timbers and completely overwhelmed them.

St. Clair has been somewhat censured for not throwing up breastworks on the night of November 3. Breastworks such as an army could throw up in a night, would have been utterly futile against savages who fought like wild animals. Henry Bouquet was, by far, the most successful Indian fighter of his day and in his greatest contest and victory at Bushy Run in 1763, he fought the enemy all afternoon until nightfall temporarily ended the battle. He could have thrown up breastworks in the night as a protection against the enemy in the more terrible contest which he knew would follow with the earliest dawn. Such an idea never entered his mind. Like St. Clair, he knew too well the methods of Indian warfare not to realize that such earthworks, though potent against drilled troops, would have been no protection whatever against his savage enemy. Indeed, both commanders must have known that breastworks such as an army could have thrown up in a night would have but aided the savages by confining the troops to a position that was not in any way inaccessible to them.

No intelligent student of history now believes that St. Clair should

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have been expected to hold Ticonderoga against Burgoyne's army or that his army was properly equipped and drilled to meet the Indians in 1791. In both of these battles the highest possible military skill was displayed on the part of the commander. In this connection the late Mr. James M. Swank the noted authority on iron and steel, in his sketch of General St. Clair as an early iron master, says:

"Generals cannot always win victories as is illustrated in the Battle of Waterloo. In our own country, Washington was compelled to surrender to the French and Indians at Great Meadows and he was repeatedly defeated during the Revolution. McDowell lost the first Bull Run battle, Burnside failed at Fredericksburg, Hooker at Chancellorsville, Sherman at Kenesaw Mountain, although all these were good soldiers. Grant met with signal defeat on the first day at Shiloh and also at Cold Harbor, while Lee lost the battle at Antietam and his star set at Gettysburg. St. Clair was not defeated because of any lack of Generalship or personal bravery in himself."

St. Clair remained as Governor of the Northwestern Territory in all about fifteen years, and was removed by Thomas Jefferson in 1802. He was an ardent Federalist with unbounded admiration for the centralized power doctrine of Alexander Hamilton, views directly antagonistic to the tenets of Jefferson. St. Clair had also advocated the re-election of John Adams, whose unpopular administration, favoring among other things, the deservedly obnoxious alien and sedition laws, had elected Jefferson. It may have been unfortunate that so pronounced a Federalist was appointed to this position, for the Western people were largely Jeffersonian, and were clamoring for statehood which could only be secured through Jefferson's friends.

When St. Clair returned to Pennsylvania from Ohio he settled in his old residence in Logonier Valley and built Hermitage Furnace, hoping thus to recuperate his exhausted fortune. He was a pioneer in the iron business in Western Pennsylvania and manufactured pig-iron and castings for the Pittsburg market when the Iron City was in its infancy. A flouring mill which he had built on his estate before the Revolution and which he gave to his neighbors for their use during the war, was now in ruins and he rebuilt it. His resi-

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dence "Hermitage" was about a mile north of Logonier. The tradition is that Washington sent two carpenters who came from Mt. Vernon on horseback to do the finer work on the residence. This work was the admiration of the common people and it is equal to the best of the carpentering in the old colonial houses. The residence is all gone now save the parlor. The quaintly devised woodwork, the mantelpiece and wainscoting of the room remaining, doubtless saved it from destruction. It is now preserved because of its historic associations. Vying in stately simplicity of design and in rich interior with the wood work of our best homes of modern times, it bids fair to bear down to coming generations one of the few splendid specimens of colonial architecture in Western Pennsylvania. Near by are the crumbling ruins of Hermitage Furnace.

The story of the financial difficulties which so clouded General St. Clair's later years, is not a pleasant one to contemplate. Besides the fourteen thousand pounds which came to him by marriage, he was the owner of large tracts of land which he purchased or received from the Penns and from the State, for services rendered. He also made some good land investments. All his property was sold by the sheriff to satisfy his creditors, and the most lamentable feature of his embarrassment is, that his debts were nearly all contracted in the interest of the State and Nation, and should have been paid by them and not by St. Clair.

During his last years he presented memorials to the State Legislature and to Congress asking, not for charity, but for a simple reimbursement of the moneys he had expended for the public, and not a single statement in any of them was ever disbelieved or denied. In one of them he explains his situation by saying that, when he entered the Revolution, he could not leave his young wife, born and reared in the best society of Boston, alone with her children on an unprotected and hostile frontier. This compelled him to sell a part of his real estate in Western Pennsylvania, upon some of which he had expended large amounts of money, at a great sacrifice. It was sold for two thousand pounds, but in deferred payments, and the purchaser paid him in depreciated continental currency, so that of the two thousand pounds he received less than one hundred. He purchased a house in Pottsgrove, near Philadelphia, as a family res-

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idence while he was in the army. In the sale of this he lost the half by the bankruptcy and suicide of the purchaser.

In a memorial to the Assembly he says that, beginning in 1774, he supplied nearly all the forts and blockhouses in Westmoreland county with arms and means of defense at his own expense. In the memorial to Congress he says that in the darkest days of the Revolution, when Washington's soldiers were daily deserting and the army rapidly melting away because they had not been paid, Washington himself applied to him (St. Clair) to save the Pennsylvania Line, the best organization in the army. He accordingly advanced money for recruiting and for bounty, and, with the aid of William Butler, the Line was saved. To this claim, the government actually plead the statute of limitations.

But the indebtedness which directly caused the sale of his real estate was contracted while he was Governor of the Territory. Among other duties which he performed there, was to act as Indian agent, and as such he negotiated several treaties. The amounts appropriated were not generally sufficient to cover the terms of the treaty, and, rather than have it fail, St. Clair frequently advanced the necessary money. In one treaty alone he was forced to expend sixteen thousand dollars, while but eight thousand had been set aside for it. When the army for the campaign of 1791 assembled at Cincinnati, it was found that the appropriation was not sufficient to equip it, so St. Clair gave his bond to a wealthy gentleman in Pittsburgh for the amount necessary, on the express promise of the Secretary of the Treasury that it would be repaid. It would have been repaid had Hamilton remained in office. But the new administration was averse to making good the amounts expended by a Federalist. There was a hope of its payment, however, while Hamilton lived, for he, better than any other, knew of the justice of the claim. St. Clair, with no desire whatever to contest the validity of the bond, confessed a judgment against his real estate. The face of the bond with interest in August, 1803, amounted to \$7,042.00. Payments had been made on it from time to time by St. Clair, so that, when his property was sold in 1808, it amounted to \$10,632.17. The property was sold by the sheriff in 1808, 1809 and 1810, when the embargo had driven all money out of the country, and, though valued at

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\$50,000.00, it did not bring more than the debt, interest and costs. The residence and furnace were sold for \$4,000, though the furnace and mill alone had been rented to James Hamilton and Company of Pittsburgh for \$3,000 a year. The first sale took place, as the Westmoreland court records show, in June, 1808, and the last on October 15th, 1810. His creditors did not stop with the sale of his real estate, but also all his personal property, save a few articles he selected and which were exempt from levy and sale. Among these was one bed and bedding, a few books from his English library, embracing his favorite Horace, whose classic beauty of verse he had long admired, and a bust of John Paul Jones, King of the Seas, presented to him and sent by Jones himself from Paris.

When the General was turned out of house and home by these proceedings, he and his family moved to a tract of land which his son, Daniel, owned on Chestnut Ridge, about six miles from his former home. Though the house was little more than a log cabin, it was on the State road leading to the West, and here he entertained travelers, that he might thus earn a living for his family. Broken with the storms of more than three score years and ten, saddened by the memories of the past, denied by ingratitude that which was justly due him from his State and Nation, he quietly awaited the last roll call.

To a truly altruistic man like St. Clair, who had really given of his abundance with a profligate hand to the weak and destitute, poverty, though gloomy in its aspect, was a bright and shining crown of glory which only added to his greatness. No one who was capable of appreciating true worth ever came in contact with him, even in his last years, who did not recognize at once the presence of the statesman, a soldier unacquainted with fear, a scholar in the best sense of the term, and a patriot pure and unswerving. Read his letter to the ladies of New York, who, hearing of his needs, sent him a present of four hundred dollars in gold, and compare it with our best English letters. We quote but a few lines:

"To soothe affliction is certainly the happy and appropriate privilege of the fair sex, and although I feel all I can feel for the relief brought to myself, their attention to my daughters touches me most. Had I not met with distress, I should not perhaps have known their worth. Though all their prospects in life, and they were once very

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flattering, have been blasted, not a sigh, not a murmur, has been allowed to escape them in my presence, and their plans have been directed to rendering my reverses less affecting to me; and yet I can truly testify that it is entirely on their account that my situation ever gave me a moment's pain."

The last picture we have of St. Clair refers to a period three years before his death, when he was almost overwhelmed with a mountain of sorrow, yet there are few public men of our day who would not feel proud to be thus described. It is from the pen of Elisha Whittlesly, who, with Joshua R. Giddings and James A. Garfield, represented the Ashtabula District in Congress fifty-six years. The letter was written to Senator Richard Broadhead, and is as follows:

"In 1815 three persons and myself performed a journey from Ohio to Connecticut on horseback in the month of May. Having understood that General St. Clair kept a small tavern on the ridge east of Greensburg, I proposed that we stop at his house and spend a night. He had no grain for our horses, and after spending an hour with him in the most agreeable and interesting conversation respecting his early knowledge of the Northwestern Territory, we took leave of him with deep regret.

"I never was in the presence of a man that caused me to feel the same degree of veneration and esteem. He wore a citizen's dress of black, of the Revolution; his hair was clubbed and powdered. When we entered he arose with dignity and received us most courteously. His dwelling was a common double house of the western country, that a neighborhood would roll up in an afternoon. There lived the friend and confidant of Washington; the ex-Governor of the fairest portion of creation. It was in the neighborhood, if not in view of a large estate at Ligonier that he owned at the commencement of the Revolution, and which was sacrificed to promote the success of the Revolution. Poverty did not cause him to lose his self-respect, and were he now living, his personal appearance would command universal admiration."

St. Clair at no time in the war appeared so great as when, under adverse circumstances, he tried to save an army or prevent its destruction. So it may have been that, in the poverty of his declining years, his true nobility asserted itself, and shone forth all the more brilliantly. With no complaint whatever, he readily forgot that the

nation had taken the best years of his life and most of his property, and now in want, another generation of rulers refused to recompense him. One sentence from the New York letter is the key to his whole life: "It is entirely on their account that my situation ever gave me a moment's pain." He always forgot himself when the rights of others or the interests of the State were being considered. Perhaps more than any other was he an exemplar of the motto of the Society of the Cincinnati, "*Omnia relinquit servare rempublicam.*"

There, on the mountains, in a rude log cabin, lived the personal friend and companion of Washington, Greene, Steuben, Lafayette, Hamilton, Franklin, Wayne, Gates and Schuyler, and in no small degree did he share their glory. When the Revolution closed, he was one of the leading men of the nation—a gentleman, a scholar, a soldier and a statesman. His manners were those of the polished society in which his earlier days were spent, and no adversity could change the unvaried courtesy which was a part of his nature. His conversation was embellished with wit and wisdom. Often was he seen wandering alone over the hills and through the wilderness, with his hands behind his back, and in deep thought, like Napoleon on the bleak and lonely island of St. Helena. In his youth he has been described as being tall and graceful, with chestnut brown hair, blue eyes and fair complexion, and as a complete master of all the accomplishments of the best society of the age. In old age his form was somewhat bowed, but his square shoulders, his cleanly shaven face and dignified address still remained. His portrait, given in this sketch, is from a painting by Charles Wilson Peale, the original of which hangs in Independence Hall in Philadelphia.

Never did the proud old General seek pity or charity. On one occasion he and William Findley, who was then in Congress, were talking, perhaps concerning measures for St. Clair's reimbursement. Findley was then a man of power and wealth, while St. Clair was reduced almost to penury. Findley, with perhaps the kindest of feelings said: "General, I pity your case and heartily sympathize with you." Then the old warrior, though bent with the adversities of more than four score years, proudly drew himself up, and with flashing eyes said: "I am sorry, sir, but I cannot appreciate your sympathy." At another time when toasted at a military muster by



MONUMENT AT GREENSBURG, PENN.
Erected over the remains of Gen. Arthur St. Clair

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a thoughtless admirer, as "the brave, but unfortunate St. Clair," he was aroused in an instant and demanded that the offender retract his words. He would not be complimented and commiserated in a single sentence; his achievements in the service of England and America in both war and peace were deserving of all glory without a compromising word of pity or regret.

On August 30th, 1818, just a century ago, while driving down the mountain, he probably sustained a paralytic stroke, for he fell from his wagon and was found unconscious by the roadside. Taken to his home, he died the day following, without regaining consciousness. His body was interred by the Masonic fraternity in the cemetery which now bears his name, in Greensburg. Nineteen days after his death, his wife, the once accomplished Phoebe Bayard, of Boston, who had willingly accepted the hard life on the rude frontier with her husband, was laid to rest by his side. In 1832 a plain sandstone monument was erected over his grave by the Masonic fraternity, and its inscription spoke eloquently and truthfully of the neglect of the nation. It is as follows:

"The earthly remains of Major General Arthur St. Clair are deposited beneath this humble monument, which is erected to supply the place of a nobler one due from his country."

But the sandstone crumbled with the storms of eighty years, and in 1913 the Masonic fraternity of the vicinity of Greensburg erected a new monument of the finest quality of Westerly granite, and, because of the symmetrical beauty of the old one, the new one was made an exact duplicate of the old, including the inscriptions. Thus, while fate, indeed, denied to him the victories which he dearly earned both at Ticonderoga and on the wooded banks of the Wabash, she has crowned him with a glorious immortality.

In a wider sense, however, General St. Clair has builded for himself by his life's work, monuments more enduring than granite. The progress of Southwestern Pennsylvania, the center of commercial industry, a section which he practically founded, and over which he first spread the elevating influences of civil government, is his monument; the freedom and progress of this nation, to secure which he gave the best years of his life, is his monument; the

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achievements of the Middle West, which he opened up to civilization and education under the Ordinance of 1787, five great states, now teeming with nearly twenty millions of happy, industrious and progressive people is his monument. Let him sleep, therefore, if need be, without the "nobler monument due him from his country," for as long as the maples wave above him, their graceful branches and yearly strew his grave with the golden leaves of autumn; as long as the flowers bud and bloom at his feet, and the morning songs of wild birds fill the air; as long as honor, charity, self-sacrifice and patriotism remain the sweetest of human virtues, so long will the name of Arthur St. Clair awaken alike the proudest and saddest memories of the American people.



Americans as Conquistadores and Annexationists

CHARLES W. SUPER, ATHENS, OHIO



HERE never was a time in the history of the world when the sentiment called *patriotism* was so much in need of definition as at present. The last few years have demonstrated that it may typify the highest virtues and the lowest vices. We have seen it display the strength of civilization without the mercy of civilization. We have seen it as the incarnation of brute force combined with the complete negation of the qualities which primarily distinguish the civilized man from the savage. We have seen it defy Force, and pay homage to it with fire and sword, with lying and hypocrisy, with the denial of every claim to consideration that one human being has the inalienable right to expect from another. We have seen it entrusted to the keeping of a military caste that knows neither honor nor compassion, that spares neither human life nor female virtue, nor the priceless and irreplaceable treasures which the world has respected for a thousand years. We have seen a powerful league of nations doing its utmost with deliberate malice to hurl back the world fifteen centuries, with resources and agencies which the fifth century never dreamed of. On the other hand, we have witnessed the entry into the fray of the most powerful nation on the face of the globe, without prospect of material gain, but with the sole determination to rescue civilization from impending ruin. Both these sentiments are at least in a large measure new to the world, but especially the latter. We are witnessing a most wonderful display of the determination to rescue the world, for all time to come, from a people to whom might makes right, from a people who have no more conscience than a gorilla. Henceforth when we hear a man prate of his patriotism, we shall need to know whether it is the mere refuge of a scoundrel, a profession of a narrow sectionalism, or a virtue which, like charity,

though beginning at home, sheds its benignant rays over the whole world and makes it a better place to live in.

The policy and practice of conquest or subjugation or annexation or incorporation, was not considered a matter for discussion among nations until about the middle of the nineteenth century. Previous to that date, the doctrine was almost universally held that the vanquished have no rights which the victors are bound to respect, and that any concessions granted to the former are a pure gratuity. The trial of Warren Hastings, however, revealed the existence in England of an international conscience, while the number of eminent men who took part in the trial of the alleged tyrant is evidence they represented a large section of the English people. It is clear that in Great Britain, at least, the doctrine that the vanquished are wholly at the mercy of the victors was no longer unchallenged. Not much earlier, began the agitation for the abolition of slavery. While it is true that, for at least a century preceding, small bodies of Christians had denounced the holding of men in a lifelong bondage against their will, they had not made much impression upon the general public. The two movements were doubtless closely connected. It should also be noted that the fierce denunciations of the policy of the "King's Friends" by Chatham, Burke, and others, indicates the rise of a conviction that even colonies have rights which it is the duty, and which it will be to the advantage of the mother country to recognize and to respect. We have here, indeed, a new element, or, rather, two new elements, in political thought. It may be that the demand for the abolition of slavery arose earlier in England than elsewhere because there were in that country neither slaves nor serfs.¹ The English were therefore in position to envisage the hold-

1. In England, opposition to every form of human bondage began to manifest itself with the rise of dissent in Protestantism. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the mild form of slavery known as serfdom had almost ceased to exist. In France it was abolished by the Revolution. On the other hand, in some parts of Germany it perdured until far into the nineteenth century. In Prussia it was abolished in 1807; in Würtemberg, one year later; in Bavaria in 1818; and in Upper Lusatia not before 1832. It is not making an extravagant claim to say that all the great intellectual movements now recognized as reforms, not only originated in England, but had in that country their most vigorous champions. Among these were not only opposition to slavery, but agitation for religious liberty, for trial by jury, for freedom of the press, prison reform, amelioration of the condition of the working classes, extension of the privilege of voting ministerial responsibility, and temperance. One of the rules John Wesley drew up for the guidance of his members forbids "drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors,

ing of human beings in bondage from the humanitarian rather than from the commercial point of view. The opposition to the abolition of slavery in Jamaica, where it was economically profitable, was so strong that everybody on the island who was suspected of being guilty of encouraging the natives to demand their inalienable rights, was severely dealt with.

If the agitation for the recognition of human rights had taken the course in France pointed out by Voltaire, Montesquieu and others, it would have been less sanguinary than were the years that followed the outbreak of the Revolution. But largely owing to the extraordinary eloquence of Rousseau as a writer, many Frenchmen came to look upon society as incorrigibly corrupt and irrational, and believed it would have to be rebuilt from the foundations after the existing structure had been completely destroyed. The savage state was considered as the ideal state, and a return to savagery as a return to nature. These innovators failed to recognize the important fact that progress is founded upon experience, and that every attempt to hasten it unduly was bound to eventuate in failure. In truth, one state is no more natural than another. In Germany there was at that time a considerable number of men who looked upon the English constitution as the best in existence, but who also sympathized with the doctrines of Rousseau, the formula of which is, briefly, man is naturally good until society corrupts him. Soon, however, many Frenchmen began to see that they had been duped and misled by their enthusiasm, and, when the opportunity occurred, they threw themselves blindly into the arms of the strong man as the only savior from ruin. Napoleon was not altogether indifferent to the force of a national spirit; neither in Italy nor in Germany did he interfere with the language of the people, and only to a limited

or drinking them unless in cases of extreme necessity." That the prime minister shall be responsible to the sovereign and not to the people; that the sovereign can spend money from the public treasury and even engage in war, is the last remnant of mediævalism which alone perdured in Prussia. It is a relic of the times when monarchs recruited their armies in the open market and treated them just as if they were so many cattle. It must be said to the credit of Englishmen and Frenchmen that they never sold themselves to the highest bidder, and that their sovereigns never imposed upon them this form of ignominy. Although slavery was not abolished by parliamentary enactment until several years later, the decision of Lord Mansfield in the Somerset case in 1772, to the effect that slavery could not exist in England, was regarded as having the force of law.

extent with their local institutions. It was not until he undertook to conquer the Spaniards, and later the Russians, that he began to realize the force of national consciousness. Such a feeling could hardly be developed in countries like Italy and Germany, which had from time immemorial been divided into different and often hostile camps. It has long been the fashion to characterize the Congress of Vienna as a wholly reactionary body. This is hardly just. That nearly all of its members were decidedly conservative can not be denied, but the result of its deliberations were not wholly negative. It did not undo all the work of Napoleon, though it did not recognize the right of peoples to determine their own political destiny. It did not, because it could not wholly suppress political agitation. This continued particularly vigorous in Great Britain and France, but it was not extinguished even in Germany and Italy. The slavery question continued to attract public attention. It was mainly through English influence that the outrages against the natives in the Congo were discontinued, and later against the Peruvians. The cry for Home Rule in Ireland was also taken up anew. It made slow progress, because the situation was an extremely complicated one. On the whole, all of England's outlying possessions were virtually independent by the beginning of the twentieth century. Even the government of India had so far commended itself to the natives that it has remained loyal to the present day. The recalcitrants are mainly a few ambitious spirits who are more interested in their personal aggrandizement than in the welfare of their countrymen.

With these few preliminaries before us, it will be instructive to trace the growth of democracy and the application of the principle of self-government as put in practice by the government of the United States. Slavery had been entirely abolished on British territory about the time the agitation assumed a serious phase in this country. At the present day the British government is more democratic than any other on the face of the globe. In the Strait Settlements there are many wealthy Orientals who enjoy all the rights and privileges of Englishmen. American democracy is not always consistent. It looks more kindly upon a white than on a black or yellow man.

AMERICANS AS CONQUISTADORES AND ANNEXATIONISTS

The purchase of Louisiana and of Florida was not in contravention of the principles of democracy. The French in the former territory were so widely scattered and had already become Americanized to such an extent that, except a small group in New Orleans, they cared little for France. Under the new *regime* they were not denied the right to manage their own affairs in their own way. All the inhabitants had come to see that their interests were bound up with America, rather than with the lands beyond the sea. The free navigation of the Mississippi was essential to their economic prosperity, even to their existence as a commonwealth. How rapidly Americanization progressed, was demonstrated by the battle of New Orleans, which was fought and won largely by volunteers recruited from the region round about. In Florida there were few Spaniards except government officials, and they seemed to be chiefly concerned to make themselves as obnoxious as possible. There is little doubt that the entire region could have been taken by force by the United States if the government had been so minded. There would probably have been fought a few battles at sea, which would have taken the usual course of Spanish naval battles. That the price paid was ridiculously low, has nothing to do with the ethics of the bargain. When an article is offered for sale, the buyer has a perfect right to get it for as little as the seller is willing to accept. If he obtains by purchase what he could have taken by distraint, he exhibits a regard for the ethics of the case which has always been rare in the dealings of one nation with another.

Ever since our war with Mexico, there have been among us men who impugned the motives that prompted this country to take the step that led to the inevitable consequence. Still, when the entire situation is thoroughly canvassed, there is rather more to be said for than against the course pursued by the United States. When the Mexican capital had been taken by General Scott, the entire republic was at his mercy. The natural obstacles which impeded the progress of his little army were so formidable that if the Mexicans had known how to turn them to account, or had cared to do so, it is doubtful if he could have made headway against them. For, while the individual Mexican soldier often displayed a bravery that bordered on recklessness, his leaders were incompetent, and his

sacrifices in vain. Nothing else was to be expected under the tyrannical and utterly selfish regime of Santa Ana. These conditions have nothing to do with the merits of the case, but they explain the comparatively feeble resistance, and the dissatisfaction in the rear. If the Mexican people as a whole, or even any considerable portion of them, had taken any interest in the conflict, the task of the invaders would have been much more difficult. This truth is further corroborated by the successful uprising in Santa Fé and on the Pacific coast. It was the ineradicable incompetence of the Spaniards as administrators that led to the gradual loss of all her over-sea possessions. It would almost seem as if the Mexican had inherited in a larger measure that incompetence, than any of the other commonwealths on this side of the Atlantic. When the time for a final settlement arrived, the American government exhibited a generosity that bordered on magnanimity. Mexico was treated as an unfortunate belligerent, rather than as a vanquished foe. The money she received immediately and several years later for the Gadsden Purchase, would have compensated her for all her outlay. But it did not benefit the Mexican people in the least, as little as did the huge indemnity extorted from France by Prussia in 1871 benefit the Germans.

In politics, gains that seem at the time to have been ill-gotten, sometimes justify themselves by the course of subsequent events. Such has been preëminently the case with the territory acquired from Mexico. There is hardly the shadow of a doubt that if, two or three decades after the incorporation into the Union, the people had been given the choice of remaining or of returning to their former allegiance, hardly one man in twenty would have voted for a change. Except under the Diaz *regime*, the states south of the Rio Grande have been in a constant turmoil, while those to the north have been enjoying comparative peace and unprecedented prosperity.

The forbearance shown by the government of the United States toward Cuba is without parallel or precedent in the history of international relations. Affairs in the distracted island were a public nuisance for decades, and this government endeavored to abolish it by peaceful means. During the first half of the nineteenth century there were five vigorously contested insurrections. President

Polk expressed American sympathy by proposing to buy Cuba from Spain for one million dollars. In 1858 the Senate increased the amount to five millions. From 1868 to the Spanish-American War, the Cubans were in a chronic state of revolt. The inhabitants had reached the fixed determination to throw off the Spanish yoke at all costs. Not only was the home government corrupt and cruel, but it utterly disregarded the welfare of the islanders. President McKinley, from the moment of his inauguration, showed his solicitude to bring peace to the distracted island. In his first message to Congress he spoke of the peculiar horrors of war, and plainly intimated that the time might come when this country could no longer stand aloof. He declared, among other things, that "if it shall hereafter appear to be a duty imposed by our obligations to ourselves, to civilization, and to humanity, to intervene with force, it shall be without fault on our part, and only because the necessity for such action will be so clear as to command the support and approval of the civilized world." Besides, the terribly unsanitary condition of the islands, and especially of Havana, was a constant menace to the health of the near-lying portions of the United States and to every port on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. In 1876 it was admitted in the Spanish Cortes that although 145,000 soldiers had been employed in the effort to stamp out revolt, practically nothing had been accomplished. Spain was determined not to make any concessions, and the Cubans were equally determined not to yield to force. Here was an *impasse* which could only be opened by vigorous action on the part of the United States. But the pledge given to the people of Cuba and to the world by our government, disclaimed any intention to exercise sovereignty over the island except for the pacification thereof; but, even in case of interference, it asserted the determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government to the people of the island. No serious attempt has been made to break this pledge. What does this signify? It signifies nothing less than that we have a national conscience, and that we must keep our pledges, no matter how much their keeping will be to our detriment and to the disadvantage of the people of Cuba.

The case of Porto Rico hardly comes under consideration in this connection. It fell into the lap of the United States like a ripe apple

from a tree. Her people did not seek independence, convinced that their welfare would be best promoted by annexation to the Great Republic than by complete independence. Perhaps there would have been no war with Spain in 1898, if the "Maine" had not been blown up. It is probable that the government at Madrid was not directly concerned in that atrocity. But its course was so tortuous, so dilatory, and so clearly in line with Spanish precedent, that this country would brook no further delay, and President McKinley was forced into active hostility, much against his will, and before this country had made adequate preparation for active hostilities. Our navy, as usual, was prepared, and virtually decided the conflict. When Spain sued for peace, she received the same generous treatment that had been accorded to Mexico half a century earlier. Although helpless, she was not dealt with as such. She could not have collected a dollar from the United States except by their consent.

After the status of the Philippines had been determined, that of two islands, Cagayan and Sibuta, remained somewhat in doubt. It was by no means clear that they were a part of the Philippine group. But after the commissioners from this country had taken a look at them, they decided to take possession; and, rather than quibble or lay themselves liable to the charge of having acted ungenerously, they recommended the payment to Spain of \$100,000, notwithstanding the fact that Spain could no more have held them than if they had been situated a hundred miles from New York harbor. For the first time in their history the Filipinos were given a share in their own government. That virtual independence was not accorded to them, is largely due to the mixed character of the inhabitants. There is no cohesion among them, and this can be brought about only by teaching them a common language, and by a sympathetic guidance along the new path in which they are now treading with somewhat faltering steps. There is some reason to believe that in the case of those far-off islands the United States government has pursued an ideal more rapidly than judiciously. The most difficult of all governments to carry on wisely is a democracy, and democracies have only been successful after long experience. In the proceedings that resulted in the virtual annexation of the Sandwich Islands this government employed neither threats nor vio-

lence. It may be said furthermore that a stable government has the moral right to take measures to safeguard its own interests, that for the time may appear somewhat drastic. But the question is always to be considered whether a change in the government meets with the approval of the natives.

In this connection, the case of Korea is interesting and instructive. Americans in that country are unanimous in the declaration that the Koreans are now enjoying a contentment and prosperity to which they had hitherto been complete strangers. The course pursued by our government in the case of Hayti and San Domingo was in accord with our traditional policy. Instead of making the island a territory, it sent a few marines to restore and to maintain order, for which many of the inhabitants were duly grateful. Our action signified nothing more than that every administration must fulfill the pledges of its predecessor. The turbulent island could easily have been annexed without striking a blow, but such a course was never seriously considered. It would have been wiser, as was soon demonstrated by the course of events, if the treaty made by President Grant had been ratified. He rightly discerned the course events would take ere long, but he was ahead of the public opinion of his day.

The purchase of Alaska was the first break in our policy of the annexation of non-contiguous territory. The chief reason why the project met with so little adverse criticism in America was doubtless owing to a misconception of its significance. It was regarded rather a colossal joke than as a matter of business. It was moreover felt that it could not result in any serious complications.

The acquisition of the Danish West Indies was in harmony with our traditional altruistic policy. Our government paid for the islands much more, very much more, than they were worth to the owners and even to the United States except potentially. But even after the purchase had been formally completed, the natives were consulted as to their wishes in the matter. Everybody knows what Germany would have done in the case unless she had been restrained by a fear of the American navy. The Emperor would have said to Denmark: "We will pay you for the islands what we regard as their value. If you do not choose to accept our offer, we shall take

them by force and you will receive nothing." And very little force would have been required, as Denmark was in no position to resist even a small part of the force which Germany could have brought into action. Our course in the matter was a deed of unprecedented generosity in international relations.

To love one's country merely because one happens to be born in it, an event for which nobody is responsible, is a cheap form of patriotism. On the other hand, if one can give a reason for the faith that is in him, which will carry conviction to foreigners, he has the support of sound logic. Viewing his country in the light of its history, the American has fewer acts to apologize for than any other man on the face of the earth. The fact that we have always been conscious of our shortcomings and have not hesitated to admit them, is a good omen for the future. The virtue now known as patriotism is a sentiment of modern or, more strictly, of recent, origin. Among the ancient Greeks it was racial, not territorial. Every Greek felt that he was superior to a barbarian, that is, to a foreigner, by right of birth and by that alone. In Rome, at least during the empire, citizenship was almost as often a matter of purchase or of favor as of birth. During the civil wars every leader claimed to be fighting for the glory of Rome. Horace, although he had cast in his lot with the losing side, nevertheless wrote. "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*," but he did not put his doctrine in practice. After Christianity had become the dominant religion, all who professed it considered themselves superior to the pagans, no matter what their race or their nationality. When Protestantism broke the bond of a common faith, the feud between the old and the new creed often waxed extremely bitter. When Protestantism broke up into several groups, the question of allegiance was still further complicated, and new animosities were engendered. During the wars of the Fronde, the troops of Condé and of Turenne followed their leaders blindly and fought for or against the court. Very nearly the same conditions obtain at present so far as religion is concerned. The maxim: "Theirs not to reason why," holds good almost as truly now as ever. During the Thirty Years War, companies passed from one side to the other, sometimes more than once. As the soldiers expected to increase their meager allowance by plunder, they were a terrible

scourge to civilians, especially to the peasants who were most exposed to their ravages. In this respect the German tribes have had, from time immemorial, an unsavory reputation. The chief difference between the Germans of the earlier period and those of the present day, together with their allies, is that the latter plunder selectively, while the former plundered indiscriminately. Under Louis XIV the French armies were only in part national. They contained Swiss, Irish, Germans, Italians and others. The companies that had been recruited by the various captains were his property. To them the king allotted a certain sum of money for all purposes, and he kept as much of it for himself as he could. No questions were asked about creed or nationality.

It should be said to the credit of the Prussian kings that they never sold their troops to foreign powers. But neither Prussians nor Germans ever laid aside their proclivity for plundering. Wilhelm's troops have returned to the practices which made the *Landsknecht*—the appellation is significant—a terror to all the civilians of Central Europe. They have exhibited a recrudescence of the spirit of their ancestors, and put it in practice with all the resources of the savant and the encouragement of the intellectuals, including the clergy. They have shown to a frightful degree that they are still barbarians at heart, although they have put on a thin veneer of civilization. In way of contrast, it should be said to the credit of the first Napoleon that he always did all in his power to prevent looting by the men under his command. As he could not be everywhere, he rewarded his marshals munificently, with the distinct purpose of removing all temptation to enrich themselves at the expense of the invaded countries. He did not wish to terrorize the natives, because he expected to hold the countries he had conquered and to turn them to his profit. On the contrary, with the Germans of the present day, ruthlessness is a reasoned policy put in practice for the purpose of breaking down the power of resistance of the enemy, without the slightest regard to the equities of the case or to the recognized principles of modern warfare. Many deeds have been done during the present titanic conflict which would be incredible were they not attested by irrefragable testimony.

Hitherto it has been difficult, in fact impossible, to convince the

Spanish-Americans that we have no designs upon their territory. However, a change seems to have come over them in that respect within the last year, if an American writer is correct in his diagnosis of public opinion, who expresses himself, perhaps a little over-enthusiastically, as follows:

The thing that absolutely smashed the old prejudice—hatred would scarcely be too harsh a word—and brought the present evident desire for friendship so universally seen in Latin-America during these days, was our entrance into the war. For once we have done a thing that Latin-America cannot attribute to our desire to make a dollar. The Monroe doctrine, the liberation of Cuba, the policing of San Domingo, our interference in Nicaragua—all meant, as they saw it, “America for the North Americans.” But now continental solidarity and American unity, are the words most often used in editorial pages and in public utterances all over the South.

When we feel prompted to regard all Americans as little Jack Horners, and to congratulate ourselves that we are not as other men, it comes as a somewhat rude shock to our self-complacency when we reflect upon the treatment the Red Man has received at the hands of our government. The singular and inexplicable fact in our dealings with him has been, from the first, that he has never been considered as an inferior like the negro. Nobody feels ashamed when told that he has Indian blood in his veins; in fact he is rather proud of it, and prone to think himself a little superior to those who are lacking in this patent of nobility which came to him without the asking. Most of our Indian wars have been due to the aggressions of white men, albeit, at his worst, the Red Man never displayed what is called savagery, to such a frightful extent as the Germans have been doing for almost four years. There is a savagery that is far more frightful than the kind of which savages alone were supposed to be capable. Since our government policy has been directed to helping rather than hindering, the Red Man has made wonderful progress; hence there is no reason to believe that he would not have done equally well if he had been accorded similar treatment three centuries ago. In truth, the progress made by the Indians and other races can be considered wonderful only for the reason that it has shown the falsity of the popular conception which denied him

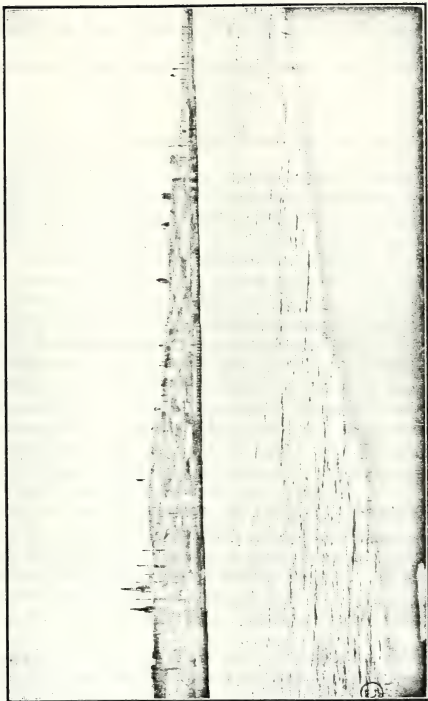
capacities which he was not permitted to develop. The twentieth century has proved that the long-cherished belief in the superiority or inferiority of races is intellectual rather than moral. In its dealings with natives, our government has at all times been in a difficult position, for, while it was duty bound to protect its citizens, it could not control their activities along the frontiers.

It is not fair to the past to judge it by the highest moral standards of the present; it is eminently fair to judge it by the highest standard of contemporaries. No people have so little to apologize for as the Americans. Therefore let us not take it for granted that they were always right. Every age should acknowledge the errors and shortcomings of the past, and endeavor to profit by them. There has been a constant striving in both our federal and national legislatures to achieve the greatest good of the largest number. These results follow from the nature of our government; it gives to every man a chance to be heard, and to be represented in the law-making body. We are free from the absurd assumption that a man is fit to govern because his father or grandfather was believed to be fit. On the other hand, the man who is inspired by the example of noble ancestors, and desires to surpass them in the service of his countrymen, merits commendation. It is easier to arouse the spirit of emulation in the young by placing before them the records of men who have exemplified the highest virtues, than by the mere teaching of abstract principles. It is inconceivable that the English speaking people could make a national hero of such a man as Frederick the second of Prussia.² What a contrast between his character and that of his contemporary, George Washington, of whom Lecky writes: "It was always known by his friends, and it was soon acknowledged by the whole nation and by the English themselves, that, in Washington, America had found a leader who could be induced by no earthly motive to tell a lie, or to break an engagement, or to commit any dishonorable act." One needs but to glance through

2. "I will now give up to you the knowledge of man, though at his expense. Believe me, he is always delivered up to his passions; vanity is at the bottom of all his thirst for glory, and his virtues are all founded on his self-interest and ambition. Have you a mind to pass for a hero? Make boldly your approaches to crimes. Would you like to be thought virtuous? Learn to appear artfully what you are not."—Frederick to his nephew.

the pages of the once widely read Macaulay to find abundant evidence that in England every form of double-dealing of cruelty, of the disregard of the rights of the humblest citizen, was always condemned by a large portion of the citizens.

The United States has given to the world a practical demonstration of the meaning of the term "melting-pot," that a few years ago would have been deemed impossible. For, while our government can hardly be said any longer to extend the welcoming hand to all the people of Europe, it kindly receives those who come, if they are equipped with the proper qualifications and express a willingness to obey our laws, if not to conform at once to our customs. How rapidly foreigners become Americanized was demonstrated for the first time during the Spanish-American war. The Spanish government flattered itself that since the personnel of our navy was so largely composed of foreigners, they would not fight for their adopted country. The Spaniards were soon disillusionized. The present German emperor and his military advisers made the same mistake regarding the Germans who dwell among us. As long as they had to choose between the Fatherland and England, they preferred the former, misled by the lying propaganda that had been so unblushingly carried on among us. But when at length the bitter truth was forced upon them, and they realized that they had been duped by a government that regards neither honor, nor justice, nor the principles held sacred in every civilized land, very few of them hesitated to espouse the cause typified by the Stars and Stripes. Hardly less remarkable than the reconstruction and transformation of the various political ideals which the immigrants brought with them to our shores, has been the gradual amelioration of the animosities engendered among peoples professing different creeds and religions. If the framers of our constitution had introduced no new principle into legislation than complete tolerance in religion, they would have earned the everlasting gratitude of mankind.



RECENT VIEW OF HALIFAX

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

By ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

No. XII

THE HALIFAX GARRISON AND SOCIAL LIFE IN THE TOWN



LIFE in Halifax among military officers, and the relations between these and the civilian population, during the long period that Halifax remained a popular military station garrisoned by Imperial troops, we should no doubt find picturesquely illustrated in thousands of unprinted letters and diaries existing in the British Empire, if we could get at these. Printed descriptions of Halifax military-social life are not too frequently found, but some such descriptions, as we have before intimated, certain interesting printed volumes yield.

One such account occurs in the diary of General William Dyott, a genial officer who died in Staffordshire, England, in May, 1847, at the advanced age of almost eighty-six.¹ General Dyott, who was born in Staffordshire, on the 17th of April, 1761, stood socially very high in the army, and his diary extending over sixty-four of the most interesting years in English history, from 1781 to 1845, has much of the piquant charm of the diary of the immortal Pepys. In April, 1787, at the age of twenty-six, a lieutenant in the Fourth, he was ordered with his regiment from Ireland to Halifax, and in Nova Scotia he remained continuously until December, 1792. On the 22nd of July, 1787, he arrived in Halifax harbour, and his description of the scenery along the shores and of the town as he approached it is interesting to read. He says:

"We were agreeably awoke at six o'clock in the morning of the 22nd, and informed that we were in the Bay of Halifax, and should

1. "Dyott's Diary, 1781-1845. A selection from the Journal of William Dyott, sometime General in the British Army and Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty, King George III." London, Archibald Constable and Company, Limited. 1907.

be at anchor by ten o'clock. We all got up happy in the idea of being released from seven weeks' confinement. The entrance into the harbour of Halifax has nothing very pleasing. It lies nearly east and west. The west side is a rock partly covered with wood, and has at the extremity a lighthouse, there being a very dangerous reef of rocks running some distance into the sea. The east side is pretty enough. There is a large island called Cornwallis Island, which has some cultivation and a good deal of wood. Near the town, and about the centre of the harbour, there is a small island called George's Island, where the signals are made for the shipping, and on which there are works. It is very well situated for guarding the harbour. We came to anchor close to the town about twelve o'clock. I never was more rejoiced. The Colonel immediately went on shore to wait upon the Governor. In the afternoon I dressed and went on shore, after being seven weeks in filth and rags. A clean coat appeared quite awkward and strange.

"The town of Halifax is prettily enough situated on a hillside, at the top of which there is a citadel and block-house. The houses are all built of wood, and in general painted white or yellow, which has a very pleasing effect, particularly in summer. The streets extend from north to south along the side of the hill, and are intersected by cross streets, extending from the shore up the hill towards the block-house. The Governor, Parr, and the commissioner of the dock-yard, have both very good houses. There are three barracks, which would contain from 600 to 1,000 men. There are also two churches, both very neat buildings of wood, and one or two meeting-houses. There is a square in town called the Grand Parade, where the troops in garrison parade every evening during the summer, and where all the belles and beaux of the place promenade, and the bands remain to play as long as they walk."

Leaving the ship, young Dyott went, he says, to the Parade.

"The first person I saw was Mr. Cartwright, late lieutenant in the Staffordshire Militia. He was an ensign in the 60th, acting adjutant. We disembarked the next day, the 23rd, about two o'clock, and dined with the 60th regiment. They were going to Quebec. We were not able to get into our barrack-rooms, as the 60th did not embark till Thursday. However, we got an empty room in the barracks, and four of us laid our beds on the floor, and enjoyed most heartily our repose, hard as it was.

"*July 27.*—We began our mess. From the high price of provisions, beef being eightpence and mutton sixpence per pound, we

were obliged to pay high for messing. Two dollars a week and our rations equal to three shillings and sixpence more. Port wine from fifteen to twenty pence per bottle; sherry nearly the same.

"*August 11.*—I went on a fishing party with Captain Devernet, of the artillery. It is one of the principal summer amusements of this place, and a very pleasant one indeed. There were ten of us; we had a large boat, allowed the artillery by government, and also a smaller one for the eatables. . . . We sat down about four o'clock, and of all the dishes I ever tasted, I never met so exquisitely good a thing as the chowder. We attempted to make it on board ship, but nothing like this. It is a soup, and better in my opinion than turtle. The recipe I don't exactly know, but the principal ingredients are cod, haddock, pork, onions, sea-biscuit, butter, and a large quantity of cayenne pepper. In short, the *tout ensemble* was the best thing I ever ate. We had some excellent Madeira, of which we drank a bottle each, and some very good lime punch with dinner.

"*August 20.*—A duel was fought between Captain Dalrymple of the 42d, and Lieutenant Roberts of the 57th, owing to the former having two years prior to the duel said in a company that Mr. Roberts was not fit for the Grenadiers; at the same time hinting that he had sold some of his brother's books. Lieutenant Roberts at the time this discourse took place was in Europe, and not meeting with Captain Dalrymple till now, he being quartered at Cape Breton, had not an opportunity of demanding satisfaction. They fired only one pistol each, as Captain Dalrymple was wounded in the arm, but not dangerously.

"*Friday, October 26.*—I dined at the Commissioner's. That same day the fleet from Quebec, under the command of Commodore Sawyer, arrived here, consisting of the *Leander*, 50 guns, Captain Sir James Barclay, Bart., with the broad pennant; the *Pegasus*, 28 guns, Captain his Royal Highness Prince William Henry; the *Resource*, 28 guns, Captain Minchin; and the *Wenzel* sloop, Captain Wood. On their passage from Quebec, the *Leander* struck on a rock in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and was very near being lost. It was a most dismal situation, as all the Commodore's family were with him on board. They were obliged to quit the ship, and went on board his Royal Highness's ship. When the *Leander* came in, she was obliged to be towed up the harbour to the Dockyard and hove down. Her bottom was found to be in a most shattered condition. His Royal Highness was rather expected in the evening at the Commissioner's, but he did not quit his ship. On his coming to anchor,

the Brigadier-General waited upon him; he positively declined any compliments as a prince.

"Sunday his Royal Highness dined at the Commodore's; Monday at the Commissioner's; Tuesday he reviewed the regiment at 11 o'clock. It was the first time I had seen him, and little expected to have received such marks of his condescension as I afterward did. Our review was nothing more than the common form; his Royal Highness expressed much satisfaction at the appearance of the men. After the review was over, the officers were all presented to him on the Parade. His Royal Highness is very much like his Majesty, but better looking. He is about 5 foot 7 or 8 inches high, good complexion and fair hair. He did the regiment the honour to dine with them; I sang several songs, with which he was much entertained. He dislikes drinking very much, but that day he drank near two bottles of Madeira. When we broke up from the mess he went to my room and got my cloak to go to his barge, as it rained a good deal. I accompanied him to the boat and wished him a good night.

"*Wednesday Morning*.—I met him walking in the street by himself. I was with Major Vesey, of the 6th regiment. His Royal Highness made us walk with him; he took hold of my arm, and we visited all the young ladies in town. During our walk he told Vesey and me he had taken the liberty of sending us a card to dine with him on Sunday (a great liberty!). Vesey and I walked with him till he went on board. He dined *en famille* with the Commodore. I dined with Vesey at O'Brien's.

"In the evening a ball at the Governor's. We went about seven; his Royal Highness came about half after, and almost immediately began country dances with Miss Parr, the Governor's daughter. We changed partners every dance; he danced with all the pretty women in the room, and was just as affable as any other man. He did me the honour to talk a great deal to me before supper during the dance. We went to supper about twelve, a most elegant thing, near sixty people sat down. We had scarce began supper when he called out: 'Dyott, fill your glass' (before he asked any person in the room to drink); when I told his Royal Highness my glass was full, he said, 'Dyott, your good health, and your family.' About half an hour after, he called out: 'Dyott, fill a bumper'—then, 'Dyott, here's a bumper toast.' After supper he gave five or six bumper toasts, and always called to me to see them filled at my table. We had a most jolly evening, and he retired about two o'clock. The ladies all stood up when he came into the room, and remained so till he sat down.

"*Thursday Morning*.—I met him on the Parade. He, Major

Vesey, and myself, walked about the town all morning. He would go into any house where he saw a pretty girl, and was perfectly acquainted with every house of a certain description in the town. He dined with the Commodore and Captain of the Fleet at O'Brien's Tavern.

"*Saturday*.—I met him at Parade, and attended him all the morning. He dined with the captain of the *Resource*. Vesey dined with me, and we had a good deal of company at the mess, and got very drunk.

"*Sunday Morning*.—I met him after church at Mrs. Wentworth's, Governor Wentworth's lady. He [Mr. Wentworth] was gone up the country on business, as he is surveyor-general of the woods of this province. Mrs. W. is, I believe, a lady fonder of our sex than her own, and his Royal Highness used to be there frequently. I attended him from thence to his barge; as we went along he told me he would send his cutter for me to any place I chose, to come to dinner. I told his Royal Highness I was to go on board with Captain Minchin in his barge. We went a little after three, all in boots, at his particular wish (he dined everywhere in boots himself).

"He received us on the quarter-deck with all possible attention, and showed us into the cabin himself. His cabin is rather small and neatly furnished. The company at dinner was: The Governor; the General; two of the captains of the fleet; Major Vesey; Captain Gladstones, 57th regiment; Captain Dalrymple, 42nd; Hodgson, of ours, and myself. A most elegant dinner; I did not think it possible to have had anything like it on board ship. Two courses, removes, and a most elegant dessert. Wines of all sorts, such Madeira I never tasted. It had been twenty-eight years in bottle; was sent as a present to his Royal Highness from the East Indies by Sir Archibald Campbell. We had two servants out of livery, and four in the King's livery. His Royal Highness sat at the head of the table, and one of the chaplains of the navy at the foot. No officer of his ship, as it is a rule he has laid down never to dine in company with any subaltern officer in the navy. We dined at half-past three, and drank pretty freely till eight, when we had coffee, and after, noyau, etc. He found out I had never been on board so large a ship, and before I came away he told me to come and breakfast with him the next morning at eight o'clock, and he would show me all over the ship.

"I went ashore that evening with Captain Minchin, who has a house in town. Gladstones, Dalrymple, Hodgson, and I supped with him. Before I went there I met his Royal Highness and Sir James Barclay, captain of the *Leander*, walking about the streets.

He made me walk with him till near ten o'clock, and some pretty scenes we had.

"The next day, Monday, the 5th of November, he had fixed to land as a prince of the blood, to receive the address from the Governor and Council, to dine with them, and to go to a ball given by the town. I went to breakfast with him at eight, found the cutter waiting for me at the dockyard and a royal midshipman attending. His Royal Highness was on the quarter-deck when I went on board. We immediately went below to breakfast, which consisted of tea, coffee, and all sorts of cold meat, cold game, etc., etc. His Highness breakfasted almost entirely on cold turkey. His purser made breakfast, and his first lieutenant and two of the midshipmen (who take it in turn) breakfasted. They did not stay two minutes after."

When breakfast was over for the Prince and his guest, his Royal Highness showed Dyott over the ship, and then the young lieutenant went on shore "to get the regiment ready" to receive the prince:

"At two o'clock the garrison marched down and lined the streets from the wharf to the Government House. A captain's guard with colours was formed on the right to receive him, and a detachment of artillery with three field-pieces fired a royal salute on his landing. His Royal Highness left the Commodore's ship about a quarter after two in his own barge (which was steered by an officer). His barge's crew most elegantly dressed, and the handsomest caps I ever saw—black velvet, and all except the coxwain's with a silver ornament in front, and the King's arms most elegantly cast. The coxwain's was of gold, and his Royal Highness told me it cost fifty guineas. As he was steered by an officer, what is termed the strokesman wore the coxwain's cap. The Commodore's ship lay about half a mile from the wharf where he landed, and as he passed the ships, followed by the Commodore and captains of the fleet in their barges, his Royal Highness and the Commodore each having the standard of England hoisted in their barge, he was saluted by each of them separately, having their yards manned, etc. When he came within a hundred yards of the wharf, his barge dropped astern, and the Commodore's and captain's pushed on and landed to receive him immediately on his stepping out of his barge (the Governor, Council, House of Assembly, etc., and all the great people being there to receive him). He was saluted by the field-pieces on the wharf, and proceeded through a line of troops to the Government House, the soldiers with presented arms, the officers and colours saluting him as he passed, and all the bands playing 'God save the King.'

"When he entered the Government House he was saluted by the twenty-four pounders on the Citadel Hill. On his being arrived in the levée room, the different branches of the legislature being there assembled and all the officers allowed to be present, the Governor presented the address, to which his Royal Highness read his answer, and read it with more energy and emphasis than anything I ever heard. At the same time he had the most majestic and manly appearance I ever beheld.

"Immediately he had finished, the officers went out to change the position of the troops from the wharf to the tavern where he was to dine. He passed up the line and was saluted as before. The troops then marched to their barracks, and in the evening fired a *feu de joie* on the Citadel Hill. At eight o'clock his Royal Highness went to the ball, where, I do suppose, there must have been near three hundred people. The business much better conducted than I imagined it would. The supper was quite a crowd, and some such figures I never saw. His Royal Highness danced a good deal. He began with Miss Parr, the Governor's daughter. He did me the honour to converse with me frequently, and walked arm-in-arm about the room for half an hour. He retired about one o'clock and appeared much pleased with the entertainment.

"*Tuesday*.—He came on shore about twelve, and was made a member of the Loyal and Friendly Society of the Blue and Orange, and dined with the Society at our mess-room. All our officers were members, and invited the Governor, the Commodore, the Commissioner, and Major Vesey of the 6th regiment to meet the Prince. We gave him a very good dinner, and he was in very good spirits. He is not fond of drinking himself, but has no objection to seeing other people. I was vice-president, and sung, etc. He got up about nine, and as he left the room he called, 'Dyott,' on which I followed, and had the honour of walking with him alone to his barge, as he wished the General and the rest a good night. . . .

"*Wednesday*.—I met him in the street and walked about all morning. That day I had the honour to meet his Royal Highness at dinner at Governor Wentworth's, or rather Mrs. Wentworth's, the Governor being away from home. Mrs. Wentworth is a most charming woman, but, unhappily for her husband, rather more partial to our sex than her own. But he, poor man, cannot see her foibles, and they live very happy. I believe there was a mutual passion which subsisted between his Royal Highness and her.² She is an American, but lived a good deal in England and with people

2. Prince William Henry was almost twenty years Lady Wentworth's junior, he was born August 21, 1765, the date of her birth was September 30, 1745.

of the first fashion. As I was pretty intimate in the house, she desired me to dine there. The company was, his Royal Highness, Major Vesey, Captain Gladstones, Hodgson of ours, a Mr. and Mrs. Brindley, the latter a sister of Mrs. Wentworth's, and myself. I never laughed so much in my life; he was in vast spirits and pleasanter than anything I ever saw. We had a most elegant dinner and coffee, and then went to dress, as he always dines in boots, and the Commissioner gave a ball in honour of his Royal Highness. He dressed at Mrs. Wentworth's and went in her carriage, but not with her, as the ladies of Halifax are a little scrupulous of their virtue, and think it a danger if they were to visit Mrs. Wentworth. For my part I think her the best-bred woman in the province. I was obliged to go early, as the Commissioner requested I would manage the dancing, etc.; that is, that I would act as a master of the ceremonies. I went about eight. The Commissioner's house and the dockyard was most beautifully illuminated and made a fine appearance. His Royal Highness arrived about nine. Everybody stands up when he enters, and remains so till he desires the mistress of the house to sit down. Soon after he came we began dancing. I forgot to mention that at Mrs. Wentworth's he told me I was to dine with him on Friday. He is very fond of dancing; we changed partners every dance. He always began, and generally called to me to tell him a dance. The last dance before supper at the Governor's and at the Commissioner's, his Royal Highness, Major Vesey, myself, and six very pretty women danced 'Country Bumpkin' for near an hour. We went to supper about one. . . .

"Thursday Morning.—I met him in town, and walked in the dockyard with him all morning. He dined that day with the 57th regiment. I had the honour of an invitation to meet him. We had an amazing company; all the great people, but not very pleasant. His Royal Highness retired about eight; and as we went out he called me to accompany him. We strolled about the town, went to some of the houses of a certain description, and to be sure had some pretty scenes. He did me the honour to say it was very seldom he took so much notice of a subaltern. He said it was not from any dislike he had to them, but that he was in a situation where everybody had an eye on him, and it would be expected he should form acquaintance with people high in rank. I attended him to his barge; he went aboard about ten.

"Friday Morning.—I met him at Mrs. Wentworth's. We stayed there more than an hour. Then walked the town till two o'clock, as he dined at three. . . . The cutter was waiting at the dockyard a little before three. The company: Colonel Brownlow of the 57th,

who had arrived from England the day before; Major Vesey, Hodgson, Captain Hood of the navy, and myself. His Royal Highness received us on the quarter-deck, and we went to dinner immediately. Not quite so great a dinner as before, but vastly elegant. He was in great spirits and we all got a little inebriated. We went ashore about seven to dress for a ball at the Commodore's. He dressed at Mrs. Wentworth's. When we first came on shore, he was very much out indeed, shouted and talked to every person he met. I was rather late at the Commodore's. The company not quite so numerous as at the Governor's; the house not being large. We had a very pleasant ball; 'Country Bumpkin,' the same set, and a devilish good supper. We danced after supper and till four o'clock. He dances vastly well, and is very fond of it. I never saw people so completely tired as they all were. I saw his Royal Highness to his barge and ran home as fast as I could.

"Saturday Morning.—We had a meeting of the Blue and Orange, as his Royal Highness gave a dinner to the Society that day at our mess-room, and was chosen Superior of the Order. He, Major Vesey, and myself, walked about all morning visiting the ladies, etc. He desired to dine at half-past three. He took the chair himself and ordered me to be his vice. We had a very good dinner, and he sent wine of his own; the very best claret I ever tasted. We had the Grenadiers drawn up in front of the mess-room windows to fire a volley in honour of the toasts. As soon as dinner was over he began. He did not drink himself; he always drinks Madeira. He took very good care to see everybody fill, and he gave twenty-three bumpers without a halt. In the course of my experience I never saw such fair drinking. When he had finished his list of bumpers, I begged leave as vice to give the Superior, and recommended it to the Society to stand upon our chairs with three times three, taking their time from the vice. I think it was the most laughable sight I ever beheld, to see the Governor, our General, and the Commodore, all so drunk they could scarce stand on the floor, hoisted up on their chairs with each a bumper in his hand; and the three times three cheer was what they were afraid to attempt for fear of falling. I then proposed his Royal Highness and a good wind whenever he sailed (as he intended sailing on Monday), with the same ceremony. He stood at the head of the table during both these toasts, and I never saw a man laugh so in my life. When we had drunk the last, the old Governor desired to know if we had any more, as he said if he once got down, he should never get up again. His Royal Highness saw we were all pretty well done, and he walked off. There were just twenty dined and we drank sixty-three bottles of wine.

"When he went out he called me and told me he would go to my room and have some tea. The General, Colonel Brownlow, and myself were at tea. The General and Colonel as drunk as two drummers. I was tolerably well myself, and knew what I was about, perfectly. He laughed at them very much. After tea we left them in my room and went on a cruise, as he calls it, till eleven, when he went on board. I don't recollect ever to have spent so pleasant a day. His Royal Highness, whenever any person did not fill a bumper, always called out, 'I see some of God Almighty's daylight in that glass, Sir; vanish it.'

"*Monday Morning.*—At seven o'clock his Royal Highness sailed. I got up to take a last view of his ship as she went out, and as a tribute of respect to his Royal Highness, from whom I had received such flattering marks of condescension. I think I never spent a time so joyously in my life; and very sorry when he left us."³

"*New Years Day, January 1, 1788.*—I dined at Mr. Brindley's, brother-in-law to Mrs. Wentworth. The same party as on Christmas Day at Governor Wentworth's. I cannot say I was in very good spirits. Was asked to dine the next day at Mr. Townsend's and at the Commissioner's, but as it was the day on which I lost my dear father, I refused them both and did not leave the barracks all day."

In contrast to all this dining and wining and exuberant general gayety, with a little scandal casually thrown in, is the account the young lieutenant gives of the death and funeral of a daughter of the Admiral then on the Station:

3. Prince William Henry, Duke of Clarence, third son of George 3rd, and Queen Charlotte Sophia, was born in Buckingham Palace, August 21, 1765. He was therefore a little over twenty-two when he first reached Halifax. On this visit, which lasted from October 26 to November 13, 1787, he was captain of the *Pequasus*. His second visit lasted from August 17, 1788, until late in November, 1788. This time he came in the *Andromeda*. The whole fleet was under command of Commodore Herbert Sawyer, who became an admiral in 1795.

The Duke of Clarence succeeded to the throne as William IV on the death of his brother, George IV, on the 26th of June, 1830. Many times during his reign General Dyott was at court and the King was always gracious to him, usually asking him what the difference in their ages was, and how long they had been acquainted. But Dyott was disappointed that the King did nothing to advance him, and his references to his old companion at Halifax are sometimes tinged slightly with acrimony. On the accession of William he writes: "Having in younger days seen much of King William the Fourth and partaken of several weeks familiar intercourse as far as Prince and subject was allowable, I have little hesitation in arguing that William's will not be a reign in which any great benefits are likely to accrue to the nation from kingly exertion. He has neither consistency, firmness, nor discretion. I hope I may be mistaken. . . . His present Majesty three and forty years ago has more than once said to me 'I shall be glad if I can ever be of any service to you.' Prince's promises are not permanent proofs." Dyott's Diary, vol. 2, p. 82.

"On the 30th of January [1788], poor Miss S. Sawyer, daughter to the Admiral, died, universally regretted by all ranks as a most amiable, good, deserving young woman. She had had a swelling in her arm for some months. The faculty agreed it should be opened, which was done accordingly. It continued in that state, not healing or mending, for near two months. That at length brought on a fever, of which she languished for twenty-one days. I was much hurt, knowing her to be so good a creature. She was only eighteen years of age, and a very handsome, fine woman. I was desired to attend her funeral as a bearer. I cannot say I ever felt more in my life than on the occasion, when I reflected that about three months before I was dancing with her, and that now I was attending her to her grave. It really made me as melancholy as anything I ever experienced. The funeral was a handsome one, as follows:

"At the head of the procession were the Bishop and Rector; then the body with eight bearers. That is, on the right side, Lieutenant Nicholson, 57th regiment; Captain Gladstones, ditto; Lieutenant Lawford, R. N.; Captain Sir James Barclay, ditto; on the left side Lieutenant Dyott, 4th; Captain Hodgson, ditto; Lieutenant d'Acres, R. N.; Captain Hood, ditto. The under bearers were the Admiral's barge crew in white trousers, white shirts, with a piece of love ribbon tied round the left arm, black velvet caps and white ribbons tied round them. The coffin covered with white cloth handsomely ornamented. On a silver plate, 'Sophia Sawyer. Born 10th March '70. Died 31st Jan. '88.'

"After the body, Mr. d'Acres, secretary to the Admiral as chief mourner; next the nurse and Miss Sawyer's maid in deep mourning and white hoods. The bearers had on full uniform; white hat-bands and scarves, black sword-knots, cockades, and crape round the left arm. After the two women followed Colonel Brownlow, 57th, and Captain Minchin, R. N., General Ogilvie, and the Commissioner, and the Governor by himself. All with white hat-bands and scarves. There were also three or four of the family, and some officers belonging to the Admiral's ship, with hat-bands and scarves. After them followed almost all the officers belonging to the fleet; many of the garrison; all the people in town that were acquainted with the Admiral; and to close up the whole, a long string of empty carriages.

"As we entered the church [St. Paul's], which is a full mile from the Admiralty, the organ began a most solemn dirge, which continued near a quarter of an hour. The service was then performed, and I think in my life I never saw so much grief as throughout the whole congregation. I must own I have never shed so many

tears since I left school. I believe sorrow was never more universal than on the occasion. It was a very cold day, and walking so slow in silk stockings and thin shoes, I was almost perished.

"The following Sunday, all the people who had been invited to the funeral attended Church, as the Bishop was to preach an occasional sermon. His text was most admirably adapted from the Thessalonians, and his discourse the most affecting I ever heard. He frequently pointed to her grave and admonished the younger part of his hearers, and more particularly those who had attended the interment, to prepare to meet death, not knowing how soon they might be cut off. On the whole it was a most admirable sermon, and called up the passions more forcibly than anything I ever heard."

Unfortunately for the morals of both the military and civilian population of Halifax, in August, 1788, the future King of England unexpectedly returned, for another and longer visit. Lieutenant Dyott's diary therefore for over three months describes dinners, with excessive wine-drinking, balls, suppers, visits at Mrs. Wentworth's, and public reviews of the troops and other spectacular events that give glowing colour to his chronicle, but that do not bespeak for the town the highest degree of seriousness or morality. On a certain Friday his Royal Highness dined at the Chief Justice's, and how it was the lieutenant "does not know," but the sailor prince set to immediately after dinner, "and I never saw," says Dyott, "a man get so completely drunk. He desired the General to order the whole garrison up to Citadel Hill, to fire a *feu de joie*, but his Highness was not able to attend to it, as he was obliged to go to bed at Pemberton's, where he slept for three hours, and then went to his ship." "I believe I shall never spend three months in that way again, for such a time of dissipation, etc., etc., I cannot suppose possible to happen," reflects the diarist on the Prince's departure, yet, "I must own," he says, "I thought it time as agreeably employed as I ever experienced, and to be sure the company of a Prince added not a little to the joyous hours."

In the biography of another young officer of the garrison at a period some sixty years later than that of Dyott's diary, the biog-

raphy of Captain Hedley Vicars,⁴ we are glad to be introduced to a far different phase of Halifax garrison life from that portrayed by General Dyott. In the summer of 1851, Hedley Vicars, then a lieutenant, and in his twenty-fifth year, came from Jamaica to Halifax with his regiment, the 97th foot. For a very short time he was sent probably to Quebec, but soon his regiment was transferred to the Halifax garrison. In Halifax Vicars remained until May, 1853, and in that time he developed a spiritual faith and consecration to true religion that give him a high place in the ranks of fervent disciples of Christ the ages along. Naturally conscientious, and with strong religious tendencies, soon after he reached Halifax, it would seem, he had a profound conversion. "It was in the month of November, 1851," says his biographer, "that while awaiting the return of a brother officer to his room, he idly turned over the leaves of a Bible which lay on the table. The words caught his eye, 'The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.' Closing the book, he said, 'If this be true for me, henceforth I will live, by the grace of God, as a man should live who has been washed in the blood of Jesus Christ.' This new spirit of consecration he retained uninterruptedly to the end of his brief career, which sadly terminated in the camp before Sebastopol, in the war of the Crimea, on the night of the 22d of March, 1855."

During six or seven months after his resolve, he had to encounter, says his biographer, no slight opposition from fellow officers, in the mess. A few, however, were also "walking with God," and they and he had many times of delightful Christian intercourse. The chaplain of the garrison at that time (and until his death in 1860) was the Rev. Dr. John Thomas Twining, one of the most devoted Christian ministers Halifax has ever known, and in him Hedley Vicars and his religious fellow officers found a warm sympathizer and friend.⁵ "Under so deep an obligation did Vicars consider himself

4. Hedley Shafto Johnstone Vicars was born in the Mauritius, on the 7th of December, 1826, his father being an officer there in the Royal Engineers. His first commission he obtained in 1843, his captaincy he reached after he left Halifax, in 1854. He died of wounds at the Crimea on the 22d of March, 1855. His biography, one of the most touching religious biographies known to evangelical religious literature, was written by Catherine M. Marsh, and published by Robert Carter and Brothers of New York in 1859 (2d edition 1861), pp. 300. See also the "Dictionary of National Biography."

5. A brief sketch of the Rev. John Thomas Twining, D. D., will be found in Eaton's "History of King's County, Nova Scotia," p. 851.

to Dr. Twining, that he frequently referred to him as his spiritual father; and to his spiritual preaching and teaching, and blessed example of 'walking with God,' may doubtless be traced, under the mighty working of the Holy Spirit, those clear and happy views of religion, and that consistency and holiness of life, which succeeded his conversion." Dr. Twining held Bible classes for the officers and men of the regiments, and at these Vicars was always present. On his part, the young soldier taught in the garrison Sunday School, visited the sick, and took every opportunity to read the Scriptures and pray with the men of his regiment singly. Of three of these, wrote one of his fellow officers, Lieutenant-Colonel Ingraham, "he could soon say confidently that they had followed him in turning to God. At the same time he was also the means of awakening some of his brother officers to make the earnest inquiry, 'What must I do to be saved?' . . . The name of Jesus was ever on his lips and in his heart. Much grace was given him to confess Jesus boldly before others; and when he was adjutant, his example and his rebukes to the men for swearing carried great weight, and showed his zeal for the honour of God." In a touching letter to Captain Vicars' sister, Lady Rayleigh, written on the 21st of May, 1855, two months after Vicars' death, Dr. Twining says of his friend:

"His was a lovely character; it was impossible to know him and not love him; every creature about my house did love him. He had to suffer a fiery persecution from some of the officers of his regiment. The Lord saw that it was best, and made it a means of strengthening and confirming him in the faith. You know, my dear madam, that a certain degree of religion is considered by the world to be decorous and proper, but there is nothing so much dreaded as being 'righteous over much.' It is quite impossible for a Christian to comply with the maxims and customs of a world which 'lieth in wickedness;' but my beloved friend was strengthened to bear a consistent testimony to the truth, to take up his cross and follow Jesus. He took part in all efforts amongst us in the Redeemer's cause to win souls to Him. For example, the Naval and Military Bible Society, City Missions on the plan of those at home, and a Society for giving the Scriptures in their own language to the Mic-mac Indians—the aborigines of this country. Of these Societies he was a member, and his memory is now warmly cherished by those with whom

he was a fellow labourer in these causes. But he rests from his labours, his emancipated spirit is with its God."¹⁶

6. Captain Hedley Vicars' devoted life in Halifax is one of the most beautiful traditions Halifax keeps. Early in 1918 died in Halifax, at an advanced age, probably the last person who remembered and had been influenced by Captain Vicars. This was Mr. Stuart Tremaine. The fact of Mr. Tremaine's friendship with Captain Vicars was alluded to by Ven. Archdeacon Armitage at the time of Tremaine's funeral.



Moses Greeley Parker, M. D.



ARKER is an ancient English family name derived from the occupation of the progenitors who first used it as a surname, as park keeper, and the forms *Parcus* and *De Parco* are found in the Domesday Book, the eleventh century. It is unlikely that the numerous English families have the same original ancestor. Geoffrey Parker, for instance, was in England before the year 925, probably a Saxon, while Johannes Le Parker, a Norman, came with William the Conqueror, and was a keeper of the royal parks.

Arms.—Gules, on a chevron between three keys erect argent, as many fleurs-de-lis of the field.

Crest.—An elephant's head couped argent, collared gules, charged with three fleurs-de-lis or.

Motto.—*Secundis dubiisque rectus* (Upright both in prosperity and in perils).

There were no less than twenty-five immigrants named Parker in the State of Massachusetts alone, before 1650. It is not likely that they were all closely related, but there is reason to believe that the Parkers of Reading, Woburn, Chelmsford, and Groton, were brothers or very near relatives. Abraham Parker lived in Woburn, and in Chelmsford, Massachusetts.

Deacon Thomas Parker, who was born in England, embarked for America on March 11th, 1635, in the ship "Susan and Ellen," which was fitted out by Sir Richard Saltonstall, with whose family a tradition connects the Parkers by marriage. He settled in Lynn Village, later called Reading, where he lived in the eastern part, on the old Parker homestead where Deacon Parker, the immigrant ancestor, died, and where Deacon Parker, the last of his family to occupy it, passed away in 1822. He was an active and prominent citizen, a man of ability and property. He was appointed a commissioner to try small causes in 1636, and admitted a freeman in 1637. The

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Parker genealogy locates his residence within thirty rods of the present town hall of Wakefield, Massachusetts, formerly the south parish of Reading. Deacon Thomas Parker became a deacon of the Reading church, selectman in 1661, and continued in that capacity for five years. He was thirty years of age when he left his native country, England, and was seventy-eight years old when he died. Dr. Moses Greeley Parker was a direct descendant of this immigrant ancestor, inheriting many of his sterling qualities of character.

Kendall Parker, great-grandfather of Dr. Moses Greeley Parker, and the fourth in descent from Deacon Thomas Parker, the emigrant, was a son of Jonathan Parker, Junior, and was born in Reading, in 1723. He settled when a young man in the adjacent town of Dracut, Massachusetts, where his descendants have lived to the present time. He died there in 1776. He was a soldier of the Revolution, and was among those who rallied to Lexington, Massachusetts, April 19th, 1775, to sound the alarm. He was in Captain Joshua Reed's company, serving in Colonel Green's regiment, and later in Colonel Varnum's regiment. He paid ten pounds to hire men for the Continental army later in the war.

Peter Parker, son of Kendall Parker, the patriot, was born in Dracut, Massachusetts, May 17th, 1754. He was all his life a farmer in his native town of Dracut. He was united in marriage with Bridget Coburn, and they were the parents of seven children, as follows: Samuel Parker; Elsy Parker; Hannah Parker; Peter Parker, Jr.; Amos Parker; Theodore Parker; Rhoda Parker.

Theodore Parker, sixth in descent from Deacon Thomas Parker, the emigrant ancestor, and father of Dr. Moses Greeley Parker, was born in Dracut, Massachusetts, September 29, 1799. He was educated in the public schools of his native town, and followed farming there. He married (first) Lydia Carter, of Wilmington, Massachusetts, who died June 26th, 1832. He was united in marriage (second) with Miss Hannah Greeley, of Hudson, New Hampshire, a relation of Horace Greeley, the well known editor and statesman. He died in Dracut, Massachusetts, December 20, 1865, and she died in Lowell, Massachusetts, September 1, 1890. Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Parker were the parents of three children:

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1. *Theodore E. Parker*, who was united in marriage with Miss Frances Brackett, of Lowell, Massachusetts, and they became the parents of one son, Theodore E. Parker, Junior, who married Miss Henrietta Talbot, a granddaughter of C. P. Talbot.

2. *Mary Greeley Parker*, born in Dracut, Massachusetts, January 5th, 1836. She obtained her education in the Seminary at West Townsend, Massachusetts, and at the Female College at Worcester, Massachusetts. She taught school in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and on January 8th, 1868, became the wife of Leonard Harvey Morrison, of New York. Mr. Morrison passed away November 12th, 1907, and after that time Mrs. Morrison made her home with her brother, Dr. Moses Greeley Parker.

3. *Dr. Moses Greeley Parker*, in whose memory we are writing.

4. *Adelaide C. Parker*, born in Dracut, Massachusetts, October 29, 1843, and died there, February 12, 1844.

Moses Greeley Parker, M. D.—In an extended search it would be very difficult indeed to find one who, better than the late Moses Greeley Parker, gave substantial proof of the wisdom of Abraham Lincoln, when he said, "There is something better than making a living, and that is making a life." With a realization of this truth, Dr. Moses Greeley Parker persistently and energetically labored, not only to win success, but to make his life a continual source of benefit to his fellow-men. While many men owe their success to intense concentration upon one line of effort, and while this quality is of decided value, there are a few exceptions in American enterprise, where leaders of business matters have been so variously endowed by nature that they have been able to organize and manage successfully a number and variety of exceedingly important undertakings. Of these exceptional men, Dr. Moses Greeley Parker is an example *par excellence*. A man of great sagacity, quick perceptions, sound judgment, noble impulses, and remarkable force and determination of character, he commanded the respect and confidence of all who knew him. It is unnecessary to add that as a physician he was held in the highest estimation, the record of his daily life being filled with evidence of this fact. In all professions, but more especially the medical, there are exalted heights to which genius itself dares scarcely soar, and which can only be gained after long years of patient, arduous, and unrelenting toil, and inflexible

and unflinching courage. To this proud eminence we may safely state that Dr. Parker rose. The influence of a human life can never be properly and fully estimated, but such men as Dr. Parker create and maintain the honor of the medical profession.

Dr. Moses Greeley Parker was born in Draut, Massachusetts, October 12th, 1842, the son of Theodore and Hannah (Greeley) Parker, and united in his person the blood of two of the oldest and most renowned of New England families. On his father's side he was descended from Deacon Thomas Parker, and was related to the great abolitionist, Theodore Parker. On his mother's side he was descended from Andrew Greeley, who settled in this country in 1640. On his maternal side he was also related to the celebrated statesman and editor, Horace Greeley. Dr. Parker's great-grandfathers, Kendall Parker and Joseph Greeley, were among the minute-men who rallied to Lexington, on April 19th, 1775, and his grandfather, Peter Parker, served valiantly in the Continental army during the Revolutionary War.

Dr. Parker was educated in the district schools of his native town of Draut, Massachusetts, then later in the Howe School at Billerica, Massachusetts, and prepared for college at Phillips Academy, Andover. After teaching in the district schools of New Hampshire for three years, Dr. Parker took up the study of medicine at Long Island College Hospital Medical School in Brooklyn, New York. He later studied at the Harvard Medical School, from which he received his degree of M. D. in 1864, and this honor was followed by others from Europe, where he studied at the University of Vienna during 1873 and 1874, and in Paris, France, the following year. One week after his graduation from the Harvard Medical School, Dr. Parker enlisted for the remainder of the Civil War, being commissioned assistant surgeon in the Fifty-seventh Massachusetts Infantry Regiment. Shortly after, at the request of General Benjamin F. Butler, he was transferred to the Second United States Cavalry Regiment, then at Fortress Monroe, and with this unit served at Suffolk, Williamsburg, Drury's Bluff, Point of Rocks, and the siege of Petersburg, at which latter place he was in the trenches at the time of the explosion of the great mine, on July 30th, 1864. From this service, Dr. Parker was transferred to the base hospital of the Eighteenth



Army Corps, where he had charge of the First Division, and received the wounded from Petersburg, Deep Bottom, Cold Harbor, Dutch Gap, and Fort Harrison. He later superintended the building of an additional winter hospital with four thousand beds. He was serving as officer of the day just before the fall of Richmond, and as such had the honor of receiving personally President Lincoln, General Grant, and the latter's staff. He also was a member of the council of administration on the effects of the twenty-one hundred soldiers who died in the hospitals.

Upon the close of the Civil War, Dr. Parker returned to Lowell, Massachusetts, and took up the practice of his profession, in which he developed a remarkable skill, and revealed a talent for special research and for progressive methods in medicine. In 1866 he became a specialist in diseases of the eye and ear. Nothing has contributed so much to the advance of medical and surgical science as the creation of specialists devoted to the study and treatment of diseases of the various organs of the human body. It must be evident to every one that it is utterly impossible for any one mind to cultivate the whole field of medicine thoroughly, and that the tendency to special work has increased. In 1873, desiring to specialize in certain branches of the profession, Dr. Parker closed his office, and spent two years in study abroad. Returning to Lowell, he opened a free dispensary, and gave freely of his expert services to the poor of that city, his private practice meantime assuming very large proportions. In 1876 Dr. Parker became president of the Lowell Medical Journal Society, and was a member of the International Congress of Ophthalmology at New York. For thirty years he was physician at St. John's Hospital in Lowell, his home city, and was a trustee of the Lowell General Hospital from 1898 to the time of his death. He was a trustee of the Howe School at Billerica, Massachusetts. He had been a delegate to the National Arbitration and Peace Congress in New York in 1907.

Dr. Parker had been greatly interested in the telephone industry from the days of the parent company, the American Telephone Company, and was a personal friend of Alexander Graham Bell, the inventor. When Professor Bell first exhibited his crude telephonic apparatus in 1878, Dr. Parker was an interested observer, and was

quick to see the marvelous commercial utility of the invention. As a result of one of the lectures given by Professor Bell, Dr. Parker built a telephone line from his house to his office, a distance of about half a mile, and was delighted at the advantage it gave him. In 1879 the Lowell District Telephone Exchange was established, and Dr. Parker was quick to see its vast possibilities, and so great was his confidence in the future of the telephone, that he was the first man to walk into the exchange and ask to be permitted to buy a block of stock. He associated himself with various small licensed telephone concerns, which, largely through his instrumentality, were later merged into the New England Telephone Company. From that day to his death, Dr. Parker served constantly as a director in the company, and as a member of its executive board. His activities in this great and growing business led to his retirement from the practice of medicine, in which, however, he retained a vivid scientific interest. He became one of the largest individual shareholders in the enterprises of both the American Telephone Company and the New England Telephone Company, and was regarded as one of the most farseeing men connected with those mammoth concerns. Dr. Parker had been a director and member of the executive committee of the New England Company since its organization in 1883. He also was interested in the Bell Telephone Company, and was a director in the Aroostook Telephone Company and the Knox Telephone Company. Another evidence of Dr. Parker's foresight as applied to telephoning is the method of calling by number that prevails today. In the early days subscribers were called for by name, and, as the size of the exchanges increased, it became a matter of some difficulty to train operators to remember the switchboard locations of the different persons called for. Dr. Parker saw that, in the event of an epidemic, the telephone system might be rendered useless. He suggested, therefore, that subscribers, instead of being called for by name, be called for by number, which practice was adopted and still prevails. In many other ways Dr. Parker continued to contribute to the development of the telephone.

During his busy life, Dr. Parker found time to devote to the study of electricity, and was the first to photograph the electric current and show that it takes the form of spirals. His scientific bent led

him to experiment in photography as well as in electricity, and he was the first to photograph the tubercular bacillus from Cushing's microscopical specimens. He also invented a thermo-cautery, and not long after, devised and patented an improvement in the process of producing and maintaining a very high degree of heat by hydro-carbonization. He received a diploma from the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association for an incandescent cautery. He was made president of the Middlesex North District Medical Society in 1898 and 1899. He was a member of the American Medical Association and the Massachusetts Medical Society; and was a contributor to medical and scientific journals.

In politics, Dr. Parker was a stalwart Republican, but never sought political preferment. He was named a special member of the commission on tuberculosis by Governor Douglas, and had acted with similar boards in the State of New Hampshire and elsewhere at various times. In his later years of life, Dr. Parker turned his attention to various patriotic, philanthropic and charitable enterprises. He was long an active worker in the Sons of the American Revolution, serving first as president of the State society, and later, in 1911 and 1912, as national president-general, a distinction which he regarded as by far the most notable in his career. He was chosen by his intimate friend, Frederick Fanning Ayer, to work out the details of the Ayer Home in Lowell, Massachusetts, and had always served that institution as the head of its governing board as president. He was also the leading spirit of the Lowell Day Nursery Association, and was deeply engrossed at the time of his death in plans for a new building, greatly extending the work.

Dr. Parker was also a member of the Loyal Legion, the Bostonian Society, Bunker Hill Monument Association, the Massachusetts Society of Colonial Wars, of which he had been one of the board of managers; the Order of Colonial Governors, and the Grand Army of the Republic. He was president of the Parker Historical and Genealogical Association, and was affiliated with the Masonic order. Dr. Parker was sent by the United States government as a delegate to the International Medical Congress held at London, England, in 1913.

The city of Lowell, Massachusetts, was profoundly shocked and

grieved by the announcement of Dr. Parker's death, which occurred October 1st, 1917, in his seventy-sixth year. He was a man whose death at any time, under any circumstances, would have cast a gloom over the community, and the sorrow of the many who knew and loved him was greatly intensified by the suddenness with which the blow fell upon them. His judgment was excellent, his opinions were honest, and he was always loyal, faithful and patient. He was friendly, amiable and helpful, and his good nature was never known to fail. He was the possessor of fine natural abilities, and such a man is always stronger than he appears to be in any live, growing community. Being a descendant from two of the oldest New England families, Dr. Moses Greeley Parker lived up to the standard set by his illustrious ancestors, and during his career proved himself to be a man among men.

Dr. Parker never married, and is survived by his sister, Mrs. Mary Greeley Morrison, and one nephew, Theodore E. Parker, who is division commercial superintendent of the Eastern Massachusetts Division of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company.

(The Greeley Line.)

Arms.—Argent, on a cross sable five escallops or.

The Greeley family is one of the oldest and most illustrious in the New England States, having maintained a high place in the regard of the community from the very earliest Colonial period to the present time.

Andrew Greeley, the emigrant ancestor, was born about the year 1617, and died in Salisbury, Massachusetts, June 30, 1697. His wife, Mary Moyse, died there December 24, 1703. Andrew Greeley was an early settler in Salisbury, Massachusetts. The exact date of his arrival there, or in what vessel, is unknown. He settled on a part which is now included in Seabrook, New Hampshire, and thereupon built a tide mill for the grinding of corn, on Kane's river. In 1650, in addition to this mill, he built a large saw mill. All of the children of the three successive generations of Andrew Greeley were born on the old Greeley homestead.

Families bearing the name of Greeley have been so numerous in

this country that their mere numbers preclude the possibility of tracing to a common ancestor. Andrew Greeley was the emigrant ancestor of this branch of the family, and his descendants inherited a rare combination of qualities that formed a noble manhood and womanhood.

Joseph Greeley, great-grandfather of Dr. Moses Greeley Parker, and a lineal descendant of Andrew Greeley, was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, February 18, 1731. He was united in marriage with Prudence Clement, in Haverhill, August 6, 1752. Prudence (Clement) Greeley was born at Amesbury, Massachusetts, in 1730, a daughter of Jonathan and Mary (Greenleaf) Clement. Joseph Greeley passed away at Haverhill, Massachusetts, November 26, 1814; his wife died there January 22, 1806. Joseph Greeley received from his father a lot of land in Nottingham West, New Hampshire, but did not go there to live. He was sergeant in the Third Foot Company of Haverhill, Massachusetts, under Captain Colby, which marched on the alarm of April 19th, 1775, from the town of Haverhill to Cambridge, Massachusetts. He traveled seventy miles, and was six days in the service. At one time he was a teacher.

Hannah Greeley, the mother of Doctor Moses Greeley Parker, and a lineal descendant of Andrew Greeley, the emigrant, was born in Hudson, New Hampshire, July 19, 1806. She became the wife of Theodore Parker, January 30, 1834, the wedding ceremony taking place in Hudson, New Hampshire. (See Parker).



The Mitchell Family

Arms.—Sable, a fess wavy between three mascles or.

Crest.—A phoenix in flames proper.

Motto.—*Spernit humum.*

There are many branches of this family scattered throughout the United States, founded in early colonial days by the several representatives of the house who came from England and Scotland and settled principally in the New England States. Their descendants were numerous and migrated from one part of the country to another as new territories were opened. Almost invariably, however, members of the various branches are to be found within a short distance of the original location of the progenitor.

The Mitchells of Roanoke county, Virginia, offer a good example of this rule. In the early part of the eighteenth century the descendants continued to live on and in the vicinity of the old family estate, while other members are found through the South. They are related by marriage to the family of Colonel Zachary Lewis, whose father was a messmate of Washington during the war with the French. They are connected in the same degree with the Thomas and Graham families, the latter that of William Graham, Governor of North Carolina.

The Pennsylvania family was founded by the descendants of William Mitchell and his wife Elizabeth, who emigrated from Yorkshire county, England, and settled in Bermuda. Sons of this branch also settled in Baltimore. Another branch of the York county (Pennsylvania) family claim George Mitchell, born in Scotland in 1734, as progenitor.

The Long Island family, of ancient origin, has furnished many famous men, as have the Nantucket stock, of which Professor Maria Mitchell and her brother Henry were descended. The Connecticut Mitchells claim kinship with Rebecca Motte, of Revolutionary fame; with Governor Saltonstall, and Governor Dudley of Massachusetts, and with the Gardiners of Gardiner's Island, New York.

THE MITCHELL FAMILY

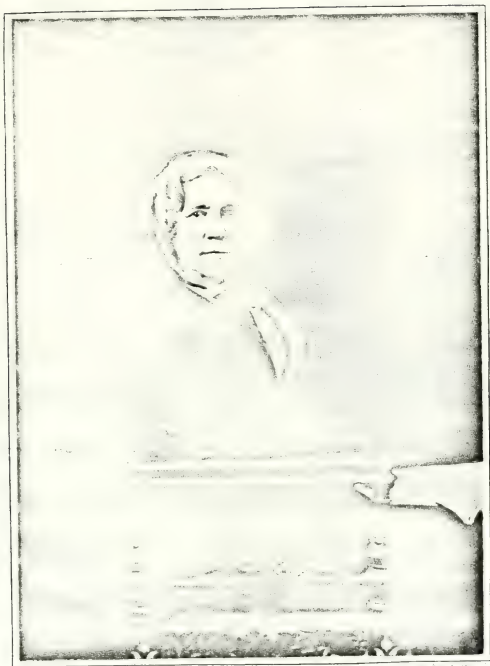
One western branch of the family claim "Honest John Hart" as an ancestor. He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, from New Jersey. James Mitchell, a Scotch settler from Glasgow, in 1730, founded the family which produced, among other well known men, Stephen Mitchell, his son, who was one of the members of the first Congress at Philadelphia. He was also Chief Justice of Connecticut. Donald Mitchell, best known as "Ik Marvel," the essayist, was of the third generation in America. Stephen Mitchell had six sons, all college graduates.

Matthew Mitchell was the progenitor of another family of the name in Connecticut. He was a passenger on the ship "James," in 1635, together with his wife and child, and settled in Connecticut, near Wethersfield, of which town he became clerk in 1639. He was a representative at the court from Saybrook, and took an active part in the Pequot War, subsequently removing to Hempstead, Long Island, in 1643. The town of Hingham, Massachusetts, was probably named by Edward Mitchell, a passenger, in 1638, on the ship "Diligent," from Hingham, England.

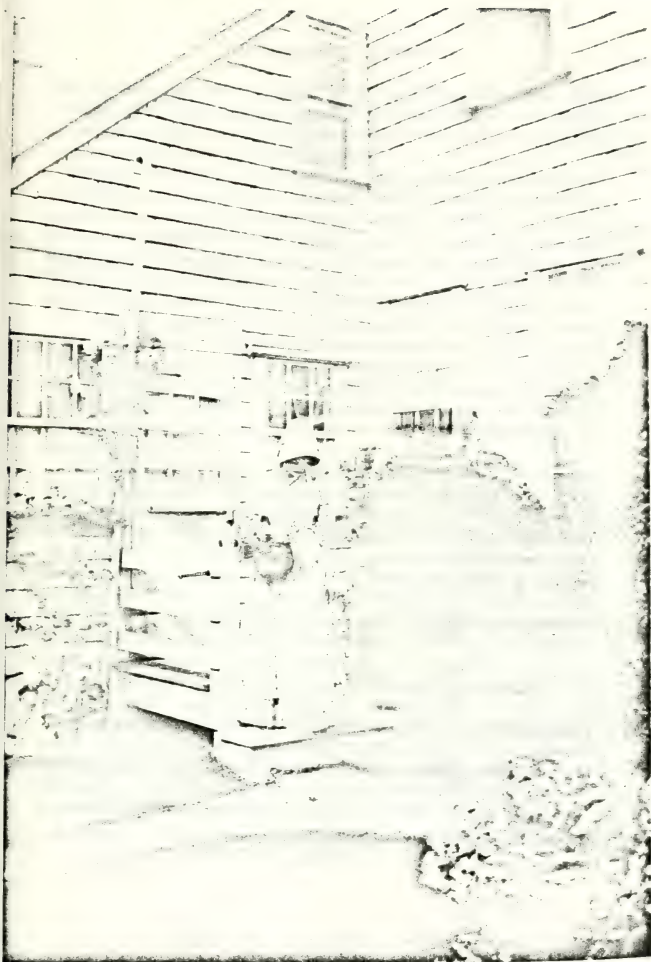
Experience Mitchell, who lived at Plymouth, Duxbury and Bridgewater, Massachusetts, came from England on the ship "Ann," in 1623. He married Jane, the daughter of Francis Cook, one of the "Mayflower" passengers, and they were the founders of a large and prominent family.

Many Mitchells gained fame in the American Revolution, among them: Major Abiel Mitchell, of Massachusetts; Colonel Mitchell, of Massachusetts; Captain Alexander Mitchell, of New Jersey; Nathaniel Mitchell, captain of a battalion of the Flying Camp, of Delaware; Captain Joseph Mitchell, of Virginia; Captain James Mitchell, of South Carolina; Major Ephraim Mitchell, of South Carolina; and Lieutenant John Mitchell, of Georgia.

The most prominent member of the Nantucket family, descendant of old Quaker stock, and an astronomer of international repute, was Maria Mitchell, born August 1, 1818, daughter of William Mitchell. Her father (1791-1869) was a school teacher and self-taught astronomer, who rated chronometers for Nantucket whalers. He was well known in the New England States as a learned man,



Hannah Mitchell



THE NANTUCKET MITCHELL HOMESTEAD



THE MITCHELL FAMILY

and held the position of overseer of Harvard University from 1857 to 1865, with all the prestige attached to such an office. For a time he was in the employ of the United States Coast Survey, and did much excellent work in that department.

Maria Mitchell had as early as 1831 (during the annual eclipse of the sun) been her father's assistant in his observations, and the progress she made under his tutorage, together with a certain innate genius she possessed in the science, is evident from the fact that fifteen years later, on October 1, 1847, she discovered a telescopic comet, seen by De Vico on October 3rd, by W. R. Dawes on October 7th, and by Madame Rumker on October 11th. For this discovery, outstripping as she did the famous astronomers of the world, she received a gold medal with the congratulations of the King of Denmark, and was elected in 1848 to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, being the first woman member of this organization. In 1850, in further recognition of her excellent work, she was elected a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

She removed from Nantucket to Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1861, setting up in the latter city the great equatorial telescope which had been presented to her by popular subscription of the women of America. Here she lived and studied until late in the year 1865, when she was chosen Professor of Astronomy and Director of the Observatory at Vassar College. She continued actively in this position until 1888, when she became Professor Emeritus. For many years she had specialized in the study of Jupiter and Saturn, and in 1874 she began making photographs of the sun. She died at Lynn, Massachusetts, June 28, 1889.

Henry Mitchell, her brother, was a famous hydrographer. He was born in 1830, and died in 1902.

Adjoining the Maria Mitchell homestead, which is still carefully preserved, stands a memorial astronomical observatory and library, erected in her honor by popular subscription in 1908. In it are kept the excellent collections and records which she and her brother made in years of patient research in the fields of their chosen sciences.

I. Richard Mitchell, immigrant ancestor and progenitor of the

American family herein under consideration, was born in Bircktown, in the Isle of Wight, Great Britain, in 1686. He learned the trade of tailor, and on reaching his majority decided to enter business independently. He accordingly visited London for the purpose of purchasing materials, and while there was seized by a press gang and taken on board a man-of-war. Tailors were not then exempted from impressment as were other mechanics. This vessel sailed for the New World, and anchored for a time in Newport, Rhode Island, and here Mitchell found opportunity to escape. He seems to have established himself almost immediately in his trade in Newport, for he made a suit of clothes for the Governor's son, which so pleased the latter that he secreted Mitchell until after the vessel had sailed. He continued to reside in Newport, where he became a member of the Society of Friends, and a useful member of the community. In 1708 he married Elizabeth Tripp, of Dartmouth, Massachusetts, a daughter of James and Mercy (Lawton) Tripp, granddaughter of James and Mary (Paine) Tripp, and of George and Elizabeth (Hazard) Lawton, and great-granddaughter of Thomas Hazard, the founder of the noted Hazard family of Rhode Island. Richard Mitchell died September 24, 1722, aged thirty-six years, and his widow married (second) April 18, 1734, William Wood; she died February 13, 1740. Children: 1. Elizabeth, born July 13, 1709; married, December 8, 1726, Jabez Carpenter. 2. Mary, born October 17, 1712; married May 18, 1732, Caleb Coggeshall. 3. James, mentioned below. 4. Richard, born September 5, 1719, settled in Nantucket, Massachusetts. 5. Joseph, born November 25, 1720.

II. James Mitchell, son of Richard and Elizabeth (Tripp) Mitchell, was born in Newport, Rhode Island, April 20, 1715. He was a member of the Society of Friends, in which he was an elder. He lived for a time at Nantucket, Massachusetts, but later removed to Middletown, Rhode Island, near the Portsmouth line, where he continued to make his home until his death, October 5, 1799. James Mitchell married Anna Folger, who died April 1, 1738; she was a daughter of Jethro and Mary Folger, of Nantucket, Massachusetts. Their children were: 1. Mary, born November 10, 1739; married

THE MITCHELL FAMILY

Mathew Barker, of Newport. 2. James, born August 31, 1743; married Elizabeth Anthony. 3. Elizabeth, born July 9, 1746; married Giles Hoosier. 4. Hepsabeth, born March 14, 1750; married (first) Peter Chase; (second) David Buffum. 5. Richard, mentioned below.

III. Richard (2) Mitchell, son of James and Anna (Folger) Mitchell, was born in Middletown, Rhode Island, November 25, 1754, and lived near what is now known as Mitchell's Lane, where he died October 26, 1833, and where he is buried. He married, November 6, 1776, Joanna Lawton, of Portsmouth, daughter of John and Sarah Lawton; she died August 6, 1830. Their children were: 1. Jethro Folger, born March 14, 1778; married Anne Gould. 2. Isaac, born August 21, 1779; married Sarah Gould. 3. John, born January 15, 1781; married Katharine Gould. 4. Elizabeth, mentioned below. 5. Peter, born July 3, 1784; married Mary Wales. 6. Sarah, born May 19, 1787. 7. Joanna, born December 3, 1788; married David Rodman. 8. Ann, born August 6, 1791. 9. Richard, born February 29, 1793.

IV. Elizabeth Mitchell, daughter of Richard (2) and Joanna (Lawton) Mitchell, was born October 17, 1782, in Middletown, Rhode Island. She married, November 11, 1805, Asa Sherman, of Portsmouth, Rhode Island. (See Sherman V.). Their daughter, Mary Sherman, became the wife of William Lawton Slade (see Slade VI), descended from William Slade, the founder of the Slade family in America (q. v.), and whose wife was Sarah Holmes, daughter of Rev. Obadiah Holmes, one of the most noted of the early Baptist ministers in New England.

Holmes Arms.—Barry wavy of six or and azure, on a canton gules a lion passant of the first.

Crest.—Out of a naval crown or, a dexter arm embowed in armor, holding a trident proper, spear gold.

Motto.—*Justum et tenacem propositi.*

Among prominent persons of the Mitchell family are the following:

Sir Andrew Mitchell, Vice-Admiral of the British fleet that forced

THE MITCHELL FAMILY

the entrance to Texel Island, Holland, in the war against the French and Dutch, in 1794. He captured the Dutch fleet, helping to establish the naval supremacy of Great Britain.

Sir Charles H. B. Mitchell, High Commissioner of the State of Perak, one of the Malay States, who was directly responsible for the first meeting between the native chiefs and the British residents for the purpose of friendly discussion in 1897.

James Mitchell, Scotchman, who perfected an ingenious amplification of the Maelzel Metronome.

John Mitchell, who perfected and manufactured the first machine-made steel pens.

J. A. Mitchell, one of the founders and the first editor of the weekly magazine, "Life."

J. C. Mitchell, one of the most famous of the early raquet players.

J. K. Mitchell, one of the pioneers of the liquid gas field. He first froze sulphurous acid gas to a solid.

Dr. P. Chalmers Mitchell, member of the Zoological Society of London, a recognized authority in the study of mammalia.

R. A. H. Mitchell, Eton, Oxford, Hants. Prominent Briton, and the greatest cricket player of all times.

W. M. Mitchell, well known astronomer, specializing in the study of the sun.

Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchell, of the Long Island family, United States Senator, and author, who urged the adoption of Fredonia as the proper name for this country in his "Address to the Fredes or People of the United States."

Stephen Mitchell, a tobacco manufacturer of international repute; founder of the second largest library in Scotland.

NOTE.—References in foregoing will be found in preceding numbers of "Americana."

Leic
Rus

The Allen and Allied Families



THE surname Allen had its origin in the Christian name, which is very ancient. Fitz-Aleyne (the son of Allen) appears on the roll of Battle Abbey. Among the first to use Allen as a surname was Thomas Allen, sheriff of London in 1414; Sir John Allen was mayor of London in 1524, Sir William Allen in 1571, and Sir Thomas Alleyn in 1658. Edward Allen (1566-1626), a distinguished actor and friend of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, in 1619 founded Dulwich College, with the stipulation that the master and secretary must always bear the name of Allen, and this curious condition has always been easily fulfilled through the plentitude of scholars of the name.

Arms.—Paly of ten argent and azure, over all a cross potent or.

Crest.—A demi-lion azure holding in his paws the rudder of a ship or.

Motto.—*Fortiter gerit crucem.*

There were more than a score of emigrants of this surname from almost as many different families who left England before 1650 to settle in the American Colonies. The name in early times was spelled Allin, Alline, Alling, Allein, and Allen, the latter spelling being most generally in use to-day.

I. George Allen, probably a son of Ralph Allen, of Thurstaston, Leicestershire, England, was born in 1568, under the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was a farmer near Bridgewater, in Somersetshire, and was a member of a company which set sail from England on March 20, 1635, arriving at Boston on May 6th following. For a time he resided at Saugus, Lynn, Massachusetts, and in 1637 joined Edmund Freeman and others in the purchase of the town of Sandwich. When this town was incorporated, Mr. Allen was chosen first deputy, the first officer in the town, and served in that capacity several years. He was a member of the church organized in Sand-

THE ALLEN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

wich in 1638; became freeman in that town June 30, 1639, and constable at the same time. In 1640 he was a surveyor of land and highways; in 1641 member of a committee of five to divide the meadow lands, receiving a considerable acreage; in 1646 he built his house one-fourth of a mile from the meeting-house, on the road to the Cape, and this stood until 1882. After the purchase of Sandwich, several of his sons removed to that town with their families. George Allen died there May 2, 1648, aged eighty years. His widow Catherine afterward married John Collings, and removed to Boston.

II. Samuel Allen, son of George and Catherine Allen, was born in England, and was one of the first settlers of Boston in 1628. Thence he removed to Braintree, a part of Boston, and was recorded a freeman there in 1635. In 1640 he had a grant of twenty-eight acres of land in Braintree. He died there August 5, 1669. His first wife, Ann, died September 29, 1641, and he married (second) Margaret (French) Lamb. (See French).

III. Abigail Allen, daughter of Samuel and Margaret (French) Lamb Allen, was born in Braintree, Massachusetts. She married in Bridgewater, December 7, 1670, John Cary. (See Howland IV).

(The Godfrey Line.)

Godfrey is one of the several notable surnames which owe their origin to the popularity of heroes and leaders of the surname epoch. Godfrey of Lorraine, the famous Crusader, made his deeds of valor and his personal name as familiar as did Coeur de Lion his own. King Richard, however, was an Englishman, and Godfrey a Frenchman, wherefore among English-speaking peoples Richard obtained superiority, but coming at the epoch of hereditary surnames, both have wielded an enormous influence on nomenclature.

Arms.—Argent a griffin passant, wings endorsed sable, between three lions' heads erased gules.

Crest.—A griffin passant sable, holding a scepter or in the dexter forepaw.

Three emigrants by the name of Godfrey left England and settled in Massachusetts before the year 1650. Francis Godfrey was of

Duxbury in 1638. John Godfrey came in the ship "Mary and John," March 24, 1638, and lived at Newbury and Andover. William Godfrey settled in Watertown, and later removed to Hampton, New Hampshire. Richard Godfrey settled in Taunton, Massachusetts, as early as 1652. The Connecticut family is descended from Christopher Godfrey, who settled before 1685 at Greene's Farms, Fairfield, Connecticut.

I. Francis Godfrey, immigrant ancestor and founder, was a native of England. He settled at Duxbury, Massachusetts, where he had a grant of land in 1638. He later removed to Marshfield, and finally to Bridgewater. His will, dated October 29, 166—, proved July 30, 1669, bequeaths to his wife Elizabeth; daughter Elizabeth Cary, wife of John; grandchildren John and Elizabeth; servants John Pitcher, and Richard Jennings, a minor. He had goods at Providence and Bridgewater.

II. Elizabeth Godfrey, daughter of Francis and Elizabeth Godfrey, married in 1644, John Cary, of Bridgewater, Massachusetts. (See Howland IV).

(The French Line.)

The French family, for centuries one of the foremost in England, claims descent from Rollo, Duke of Normandy, a Norseman viking, who settled in France, and in A. D. 910 formally adopted the Christian religion and was baptized, taking the name of Robert, Count of Paris, who was his godfather. With his invading Norsemen, progenitors of the Normans who subsequently invaded England, he had already conquered the province of Normandy, which was now ceded to him in due form by Charles the Simple of France, who also gave him his daughter Gisela in marriage, A. D. 912.

Arms.—A bend or, between two dolphins embowed argent.

Crest.—A crescent per pale argent and or, between the horns a fleur-de-lis per pale or and argent.

French has been in use as a surname in England since the year 1100. Antiquarians have brought to light about forty variations, including Frene, Freyn, Freyne, de la Freyne, de la Fessnay,

THE ALLEN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Frainch, Ffrenche and French. The ancient motto of the family, used in the days of chivalry and indicative of the character of its descendants, was *malo mori quam foedari* ("Death rather than dishonor"). Among the arms of the seventeen families of French mentioned by Burke, the heraldic dolphin and the fleur-de-lis are most conspicuous, indicating a French origin. From Harlovan, third son of Rollo, descended Sir Maximilian de French, whose son, Sir Theoples French (or Freyn), accompanied William the Conqueror to England and fought at the battle of Hastings.

The American family, dating from the early years of the colonial period, descends from several immigrants of the name, of whom the earliest to arrive were John French of Braintree, and Lieutenant William French of Billerica. These men, both natives of England, became the founders of families which ranked prominently in colonial Massachusetts, subsequently spreading throughout New England.

Margaret French, of the second generation of the family in America, married (first) Edward Lamb, and (second) Samuel Allen, of Bridgewater. (See Allen II).

(The Bass Line).

The surname Bass had its source in the French *bas*, which means literally "of low stature," and corresponds in origin to the English surnames Short and Stout. The name is found in very ancient English records, and is traced to the reign of King Edward III. It became common in England, however, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the attendant tide of emigration from France to England and the American Colonies. The family has been one of prominence in England for several centuries, and bears arms in many of its branches.

Crest.—Out of a ducal coronet two wings proper.

Arms.—Sable, a bordure argent.

The American family of the name has been prominent in New England life and affairs for two hundred and fifty years. Massachusetts has been the seat of the principal branches of the family since the time of its founding. Deacon Samuel Bass, immigrant

THE ALLEN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

ancestor and progenitor, was born in England in 1600. He came to America with his wife Anne about 1630, and settled first in Boston. He subsequently became one of the earliest members of the Roxbury church, organized in 1632, and took up his residence in that town, near Hog Bridge. He removed to Braintree, Massachusetts, in 1640, and became one of its leading citizens. He was admitted a freeman, May 14, 1634; in 1641 he was elected deputy to the Massachusetts General Court, and for twelve years represented the town in the Legislature. He was elected the first deacon of the church at Braintree, and filled the office for half a century. Deacon Samuel Bass was a man of strong personality and vigorous mind, eminently fitted for the position of leadership which he occupied in Braintree for so many decades. He died December 30, 1694, aged ninety-four years, at Braintree, at which time the statement appears in the town records that he was the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of one hundred and sixty-two persons. His wife Anne died September 5, 1693, aged ninety-three years. This remarkable couple were the progenitors of a family which has never relinquished the position of influence it held in the early days of the colony.

Elizabeth Bass, who became the wife of Captain Joseph Glover, of Braintree, Massachusetts, was a lineal descendant of Deacon Samuel Bass, and a member of the Braintree family. She was the mother of Katherine Glover, wife of Benjamin (2) Wardwell, of Bristol, Rhode Island. (See Wardwell V).

(The Jones Line.)

Arms.—Or, a chevron engrailed between three Cornish choughs sable, all within a bordure bezantee.

Crest.—a battle-axe and spear in saltire, handles gules, heads argent, mounted or.

The origin of the surname Jones lies obscure in antiquity. It is of baptismal classification, signifying literally the son of John, or "Johan" or "Jone," as the name was at first written and pronounced for both the masculine and feminine. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Johan stood for both Johannes and Johanna. Difficulties arising from the indiscriminate use, made necessary a

distinctive form for the two sexes, and the masculine took the form of John, and the feminine Joan. It is quite clear from evidence that for a time the sound Jone represented both, however. The name appears in English medieval registers of very early date, and continues under widely diversified forms for centuries until all are crystallized under the form John for the masculine, and Joan for the feminine.

Families of the name have figured prominently in English life for several centuries, and have controlled vast landed estates in all parts of the kingdom. Among the early settlers in the New England Colonies were many immigrants of the name Jones, who became the founders of several families which from the close of the seventeenth century to the present day have played a prominent and influential part in New England life and affairs.

Elizabeth Jones, who became the wife of Rev. Anthony Thatcher, founder of the Thatcher family in America, was a member of a family long established in Wiltshire, England.

NOTE.—References in foregoing will be found in preceding numbers of "Americana."



The Van Der Heyden Family

Arms.—Argent, a demi-vol sable.

Crest.—Three roses gules, slipped and leaved vert, between two wings, dexter argent, sinister sable.

The name of the Van der Heyden family is derived from the Dutch, and it signifies that those coming from the town of Heyden in the Province of Brabant, Holland, took the name of that place, or were known as persons "from Heyden." Heyden has the English meaning, Heather. Hence, it may reasonably be supposed that this town derived its name from the peculiarity of the surroundings, such as large fields of heather.

The Van der Heyden family is one that gained prominence when this country was in its infancy, and from the time of the earliest colonists began to exert an important interest upon affairs. They were individually large landholders, and, coming down to the period of the American Revolution, a hundred years later, the members participated in the battle for liberty.

Settling first in Albany, when coming to this country, a few generations afterwards one finds this family spread over a large area which is now known as Troy, New York, occupying it as their family estates, and it may authoritatively be stated that they were the earliest settlers of Troy, or, more strictly speaking, that city was not Troy until many years after it had gone by the name of Van der Heyden, and they allowed others to buy land from them and thus by settlers coming there it grew into a city. The Van der Heydens were there a hundred years before anyone thought of the place as Troy. Dirck Van der Heyden must have been a man of far more than ordinary sense and enterprise, or he would not have chosen a place for his large farm at so advantageous a locality as to make it appear favorable for the thousands who flocked there afterward, and buying land from him, made a city where he had his homestead.

There is no need to go into the details of what is ancient Ameri-

THE VAN DER HEYDEN FAMILY

can history,—the sailing of Henry Hudson in his small Dutch ship, the "Half-Moon," up the river that bears his name, until he found by sending a small boat further northward that his vessel could not pass the falls at Troy. That was in September of 1609, not so very long before the first of the Van der Heydens followed the same route; but they did not turn back, as did Hudson.

A score of years after the discovery of the river, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, the wealthy Patroon, living in Amsterdam, Holland, secured a tract of land on the west shore of the Hudson river by purchasing it from the Indians. By making subsequent purchases, his lands comprised an area taking in whole counties, measuring back from the Hudson river, on both sides, twelve miles, and about twenty-four miles from its northern to the southern limit of his land, and this included not only the site of Albany but likewise that of Troy.

At this period of American history, the place that became shortly the home of the Van der Heyden family was surrounded by Indian settlements. There were the Mohawks, dwelling to the west, across the Hudson river from what is now Troy, in what the Dutchmen styled Moenemines Casteel. This was a typical red man's village, which might be described as a series of long, low huts. It was located upon the island which was formed by the third and fourth branches of the Mohawk river, not far to the south of what is now the town of Waterford. To the east of the Van der Heyden property (in Troy) was the tribe of Mohegan or Mohican Indians, also prominent and powerful. They had their own fortified village, and it was known to the Dutch by the title of "Unumats Casteel." It was located not far to the north of the Poesten kill creek, and tradition has it that Uncas, "the last of the Mohicans," was born there. As the name of this creek appears in the deeds of the Van der Heyden family, it may not be amiss to remark that the modern inhabitant, forgetful of the significance of Dutch words, does not heed the tautology when he quickens his speech by uniting the two words to form "Poestn kill," and then adds the word "creek;" but originally it was equivalent to "Post's Creek." The two tribes named soon became friendly with the Dutch settlers, for they found it decidedly advantageous to have dealings with them, and by barter

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obtained rum for their wild animal skins. By reason of this trade, the vessels sailing up the Hudson river brought rum, and went back laden with pelt.

Patroon-Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, through his agent in this country, Sebastiaen Jansen Crol, secured his first tract of land on the west bank of the Hudson river on July 27, 1630, from the Mohawk Indians, and thereafter kept adding other purchases until the manorial estate extended from Baeren Island, some fourteen miles south of Albany, to the Mohawk river, on the north, the northern boundary line being a little to the south of Moenemines Castle, on Haver Island. Opposite Fort Orange, or Albany, he secured a tract on the east side of the river, running northward from Peta-nock, the famous Mill creek, to Negagones, which tract was then called Gesmessert. This included the area of Troy, and thereupon it was that the Van der Heyden family settled after spending a time in Beverwyck, the site of Albany. The land on the east side of the river proved to be more fertile by far than the sandy soil of the site of Albany. It was broken up into little valleys through which flowed streams, which were of great service in operating mills, for power was at a premium in those days, and mill rights were considered very valuable. Along the river there was space for farming, back of it wooded hills.

I. Jacob Tyssen Van der Heyden was the first member of this family to come to America. In reality he was Jacob, the son of Tys (Matthys or Matthias), who lived in Heyden, Holland. His departure for this country is recorded as from Amsterdam, Holland, where he might have resided for some time prior to his decision to migrate, or he might have gone there to form one of a group of colonists who assembled there to sign papers of embarkation under the charter rights. He was born about 1616. He came to America in 1654, at which time he was about thirty-eight years old, and remaining in New Amsterdam (New York City) for a brief time, went up the Hudson river to Beverwyck (Albany), where he presently secured property. He returned to Holland the following year in order to marry the girl he had left behind. He and Annatje Hals were married at Amsterdam, Holland, on July 25, 1655; she died about 1691.

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Jacob Tyssen (or Mathyssen) Van der Heyden was a member of a burgher militia corps of New Amsterdam in the year 1653, which appears to be the earliest mention of his name on any record in this country. He bought a lot on Broadway in that place (New York City), in 1653; but resold it shortly, evidently in preparation for his return to Holland in case he might decide not to come back again. In 1658 he obtained a permit to trade with Indians. He bought his house lot in Beverwyck (Albany), in January, 1660. He was over sixty years old in 1676, and died between 1680-1690.

Children of Jacob Tyssen (or Mathyssen) Van der Heyden and wife Annatje Hals:

1. Matthys Van der Heyden, b. 1656; see forward.
2. Direk Van der Heyden, b. about 1662; see forward.
3. Caatje Van der Heyden, b. about 1664; mar. Pierre De Garmoux, or de Garmo, *alias* Villeroy, Aug. 26, 1704; by whom: Maria de Garmo, bap. at Albany, May 23, 1686, buried Jan. 9, 1725, mar. Barent Metselaer, bap. 1684; no issue recorded.
4. Geesje Van der Heyden, b. about 1667; mar. at Albany, Oct. 16, 1687, Abraham Kip. She was buried at Albany, Feb. 9, 1748.
5. Johannes Van der Heyden, b. about 1672; see forward.
6. Cornelia Van der Heyden, b. about 1673; buried at Albany, May 4, 1725.
7. Ariaantje Van der Heyden, b. about 1675; had a child by Lieut. Symon Young, Albany sheriff, recorded in Albany Dutch Church; Rebecca, bap. Oct. 13, 1695.
8. Annatje Van der Heyden, b. about 1675; mar. in New York City, Feb. 17, 1695, Paulus Miller.

In the year 1663, there came to Beverwyck (Albany) another of the family, named Jan Cornelise Van der Heyden. He settled there as a trader. What relationship he bore to Jacob Tyssen Van der Heyden is undecided; but they were not brothers, for the former was the son of Matthys, and the latter a son of Cornelis Van der Heyden, as shown by their middle names. He was probably a cousin, who remained in Holland until induced to come across by receiving flattering accounts of the country's opportunities from Jacob, some nine or ten years after Jacob had arrived.

Jan Cornelise Van der Heyden was born at Sevenbergen, Brabant. He married Aeltje Janse Wemp, the daughter of Jan Ba-

rentse Wemp^s, of the colony of Rensselaerswyck, who was prominent there. When Jan Cornelise Van der Heyden and his wife made a joint will on September 1, 1663, they had no children living.

Wemp had for an *alias* the name of "Poest," and he was the man after whom the Poesten kill in Troy was named. He was in Beverwyck as early as 1657, and presently owned many lots there. He also acquired real estate for a bouwerie, or farm, at Lubberde's Land, now Troy, from Madame Johanna De Laet, wife of one of the original Van Rensselaer co-owners or partners under the Dutch charter, and Wemp's heirs conveyed it to Pieter Pieterse Van Woggelum, 1669-72. Wemp died in 1663, and in 1664 his widow, Maritje Myndertse, married Sweer Teunise Van Velsen, of Schenectady.

Sweer Teunise Van Velsen removed to Schenectady with his family in 1669, so as to occupy the original patent of Jan Barentse Wemp in that place, and thereupon left "his two lots lying at Lubberde Land, in the occupation of Jacob Heven." Van Velsen then became a miller, and continued to reside in Schenectady, disposing of some of his land and the mill on the Poesten kill, June 25, 1675, to Jan Cornelise Vyselaer and Lucas Pieterse. At that time, adjacent to the "Great Meadow Ground" and lying in what was called Lubberde Land, later to be known as Lansingburg, was a large farm owned by Pieterse Van Woggelum. He sold it June 2, 1707, to Dirck Van der Heyden. It embraced the tract of land between the Poesten kill and the Piscawen kill.

As the title to this property was vested at that time in the Van Rensselaer family, the sale was confirmed to Dirck Van der Heyden by Hendrick and Maria Van Rensselaer, two of the executors of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, the second patroon, on December 15, 1720. Despite this so-called sale, the Van Rensselaer family demanded the continuance of an annual ground-rent for the farm, and hence required each year the payment of three and three-fourths bushels of wheat and two fat hens or capons, to be turned over to the Patroon, or his agent, at the Manor office in Rensselaerswyck. Philip Ver Planck made a map that year, upon which the old saw-mill on the Poesten kill and the site of the original Van der Heyden homestead are indicated.

Dirck Van der Heyden persistently refused to part with any of his land as years went on, declining offer after offer, as though he counted upon a rich increase in land values, which turned out to be a fact. Possibly he had in mind a strong desire to provide each of his children with farms of goodly size, that they might in turn divide among their children, and so continue the vast estate in the family. That is what actually happened. It is no wonder that the place bore the name of Van der Heyden, for it was theirs alone. Dirck Van der Heyden deeded the property in November, 1731, to his three sons: Jacob, David and Matthys. The next year, by deed bearing date of March 2, 1732, David Van der Heyden released and conveyed his interest in this estate to his brother Jacob. On April 3, 1739, Jacob and Matthys Van der Heyden divided the farm, and filed a partition deed to that effect.

When Jacob Van der Heyden died, April 18, 1746, his son Dirck came into possession of the middle and northern farms, and on July 2, 1746, Dirck Van der Heyden conveyed to his brother Jacob, "two full equal just fourth parts" of the "two certain tracts of land."

On March 1, 1770, Matthys Van der Heyden willed his farm located on the north side of the Poesten kill to his sons, Dirck and John, and their sons; but mortgaged the whole of the property to Lucas Van Vechten, January 21, 1771, for \$1,000 in English money.

On May 11, 1774, by a deed of release, Jacob I. Van der Heyden, the son of Jacob and nephew of Dirck, became the owner of the farm on the south side of the Piscawen kill.

When Dirck Van der Heyden died, in 1775, his son, Jacob Dirck, inherited the "Middle Farm," and Jacob I. and Matthys owned severally the northern and southern farms.

While these farms bordered the river on their western limits and ran eastward to the sloping hills which hem in the city of Troy, Jacob Van der Heyden chose an elevation for his home, and in 1756 built a house on the hill not far north of the Hoosick road. This old homestead was of one story, but most substantial in its construction. It boasted a commodious attic, and was of the type so common in those days. The portion of his farm near the house was laid out as a flower garden, for there was a level plat before the front door which was the lawn. The entrance was not quite in the

center, opening upon a hall, which made it "a double house." To the left, as one entered, were two windows, and one upon the right. His farm proper consisted of undulating ground, which he planted for orchard and raised the usual farming stock.

The "Middle Farm," between the lines of what became Grand and Division streets, was less undulating and not so rocky. It had the advantage of a stream that flowed in rapid stream from the hill, east of a line of what is now Federal street, and ran southward into the Poesten kill, following the line of Sixth street. The portion bordering the river, between Broadway and Congress street, was made into an apple orchard, and a highway crossed the farm on the line of Congress street. To-day it is important city property.

The Van der Heyden home on this farm was erected on the site of the State Armory in Troy. It was on the east side of River street, about a stone's throw from the Hudson river. It was built in 1752. In a general way it seemed a duplicate of the one previously described. In front of it was the ferry landing, which crossed to where the Schuyler family had a historic old home on "The Flatts," and the Van der Heyden family derived an income therefrom, for Jacob D. Van der Heyden acquired the privilege of conveying people and animals by the only route connecting the two sides of the river above Albany. In this old house the first three of his eight children were born.

Behind the house was the small family burial ground, surrounded by a low fence. The bodies remained there undisturbed until July, 1857, when they were transferred to Oakwood Cemetery, north of Troy. On the river side of the River road, to the west, was the "Old Garden," extending from the ferry wharf to what is Division street. South of this the farm lands were cultivated. To the north, where it was far less fertile, only grass and scrub oak grew.

About a hundred feet south of the "Middle Farm," and to the east of the River road, was the one-story home of Matthys Van der Heyden, built in 1752. It was of brick, one story high, resembling the last house mentioned; but varied by having four long dormer windows, running from peak to the facade. Before the entrance was a comfortable porch, made in the old Dutch form, with huge seats on either side, where visitors tarried, or the head of the house

smoked his pipe. The Poesten kill flowed into the Hudson some thirteen hundred feet south of this house. The height of the land above the river level was not more than thirty to fifty feet, and was mostly flat; but to the west was the steep hill.

The westward flow of migration by the early settlers of the New England colonies brought many persons to this locality; but members of this family were for a long time loath to dispose of any of their real estate. Most of the strangers were so delighted by the features of the tract owned by Jacob D. Van der Heyden that he was constantly in receipt of offers to purchase portions. He remained obdurate until the year 1786. He was then persuaded by one Benjamin Thurber, who had traveled by team from Providence, Rhode Island, to allow him sufficient land for a house and store. This piece of property was on the west side of River street, the second lot south of Hoosick street.

Thurber put up a two-story establishment, and conducted a sale of dry goods and groceries. One may picture his place as the typical country store where "everything" is for sale, because there never had been a store of any kind for miles around. The advertisement that he inserted in the third issue of "The Northern Centinel & Lansingburg Advertiser," the issue of June 4, 1787, is peculiar, and read as follows:

Benjamin Thurber Hereby acquaints the Public that he continues to sort his New Cash Store, at the Sign of the Bunch of Grapes, at the Fork of the Hoosack Road, near Mr. Jacob Van der Heyden's, with East, West India and European Goods of all Kinds. For which he will receive in lieu of Cash, black Salts, Shipping Furs, Wheat, Corn, Rye, Butter, Cheese, Flax and Flax Seed, Tallow, Hog's Lard, Gammons, Pork, Bees' Wax, and old Pewter. He also continues to receive ashes, as usual, to supply his new erected Pot and Pearl Ash factory, and will pearl black salts in the best manner on equitable Terms; and also will give the highest Price for black salts. N. B. A number of New French Muskets for sale at the above Store.

No doubt the money that Thurber paid to Van der Heyden had its effect, demonstrating the advantage of having tenants, for he was followed by Captain Stephen Ashley, who came from Salisbury,

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Connecticut, in 1786, and when Jacob D. Van der Heyden turned a deaf ear upon the appeal to sell or lease, Matthias Van der Heyden, who had less money than the former, allowed Ashley to lease his home, which he converted into a roadside resort called "The Farmers' Inn." Opposite to this, so as to gain trade coming from Albany, he established a ferry, which was named Ashley's Ferry.

Benjamin Covell arrived from Providence on November 2, 1786, and put up at this inn. Jacob Van der Heyden refused to sell any part of his farm to him, and as Covell liked the looks of the farming land he proceeded to lease a lot near the inn and forthwith erected a dwelling. Writing on November 16, 1786, to his brother, Silas Covell, he said: "This country is the best for business I ever saw. I will go into my store the 18th of November; hired it for six months for \$12 lawful money. Done more business in one day than in one week in Providence. The night of the 15th after sundown, took in twenty dollars. Got my goods first from Albany, but in the spring will go to New York."

In the end, Ashley and Covell managed to persuade Jacob D. Van der Heyden to dispose of some of his property, for the land was in demand, and there was the opportunity to receive excellent financial returns. Both of the Van der Heydens began at last to turn their attention to real estate enterprises. As a direct consequence of the boom in land, a map was made on May 1, 1787, and the farm was partitioned into lots. The plan for a village was under way, and it was given the name of Van der Heyden, for so had the place been commonly known. On this ancient map there appear 289 lots, mostly fifty feet wide, and 130 feet deep, with an alley, twenty feet wide, running along the rear. The streets were then laid out with a width of sixty feet. In 1787, Lansingburg, commonly called New City, had nearly five hundred inhabitants, and Albany had three thousand. There was no Troy then; it was Van der Heyden. In 1789 it was decided to change the name, and the place was called Troy; but the members of the old family persistently gave the address as "Van der Heyden, *alias* Troy."

More graphic and accurate, doubtless more interesting than any other account of the Van der Heydens and their homes, is the narrative furnished to posterity by the Hon. John Woodworth, a jus-

tice of no mean note, who wrote his "Reminiscences" in 1853, when eighty-five years old. He wrote regarding what he saw, and his death occurred in 1858; the edition having been very limited, few have had access to the information that follows:

"After the Close of the Revolutionary War, in 1785, when quite a Lad, under the Instruction of the late Hon. John Lovett, of facetious Memory, then Principal of an Academy in Albany, one bright Morning in April, on his Invitation, I embarked with him in a Canoe to make a voyage to Half-Moon Point, now the Village of Waterford.

"Mr. Lovett's Servant Man was of the Party. We tugged at the Oars against a strong Current, making slow Progress, continually admonished, if

"We slack our Hands, or cease to strive,
Then down the Flood with headlong Haste we drive."

"About Sun-set we arrived at the south Part of the Village of Lansingburgh, where dwelt, on the Bank of the River, one Baily Austin. The young Lad was landed for the Night; Mr. Lovett continued the Voyage; the Parting was rather unpleasant, though not comparing with the Case of Calypso, who remained disconsolate after the departure of Ulysses.

"The next Morning, Mr. Lovett returned. We wended our way back to Albany. In gliding down the beautiful Hudson, on the gentle Current, I well remember the Ground on which the City of Troy is now located. Then all was quiet; no Bustle of Commerce at that Time.

"There stood at some Distance from each other, three ancient brick Buildings, probably erected in the preceding Century; the most northern occupied by Jacob I. Van der Heyden, familiarly known as Big Jacob; next came Jacob D. Van der Heyden, owner of the greater Part of the Ground on which the City is built, and under whom, or his Descendants, the Inhabitants hold Title; the last was the dwelling of Mat. Van der Heyden, which I observed, a few days since, was standing a Relick of former Times.

"There was a Stillness, and I may say a Solitude, about these Dwellings, as profound as the Quiet that surrounded Rip Van Winkle in Sleepy Hollow. Ah, who at that Day could look forward through the dark Vista of Time and conjecture the future Destiny of this Queen of Cities!"

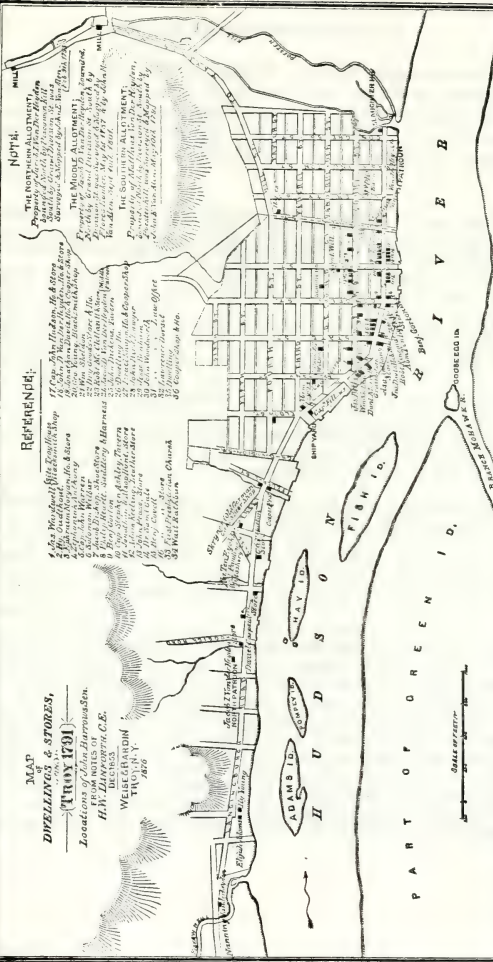
Joel Munsell, of Albany, famed as an antiquarian and publisher of

MAP
of
DWELLINGS & STORES,
— (TROY 1791) —
Locations of John Burrowsen.
H. W. LUGG & C. E.
DEC 1853.

WELSH & BARNIN
TROY, N. Y.
1876

Reference:

1. See Mr. Small's Doughnuts
2. See Mr. Small's Doughnuts
3. See Mr. Small's Doughnuts
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6. See Mr. Small's Doughnuts
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35. See Mr. Small's Doughnuts
36. See Mr. Small's Doughnuts



Entered according to Act of Congress for the year 1876, by Welsh & Barnin in the Office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington.

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numerous works of American history, took such keen interest in the "Reminiscences" of Judge Woodworth that in 1860 he printed an edition of two hundred copies for private distribution, and added foot-notes in order to furnish interesting details. It is fortunate that he dealt with the Van der Heyden landmarks in this fashion, saying:

"Matthias Van der Heyden, Proprietor of the Farm situated South of Division Street, was the Father of Uncle Derick, who was the Father of the Matthias here alluded to. His House is still standing on the Corner of Division and River Streets, and is the oldest House (1860) in Troy. It was built before the French War, as early as the Year 1752.

"The principal Story remains in its original State; but its Glory has departed, and Ichabod might well be inscribed on its Walls. It was formerly surmounted by a Gambrel Roof, but that has been supplanted by a more Yankee Covering.

"On the Front of the House, between the two Windows on the Left, and a little above them, is inserted a Brick, with the broad Surface outward, on which is cut these Letters and Figures: D V H. AD. 1752. The Position of the D would seem to indicate that the Vision of the Artist might have been slightly turned by the Merry Ale of that Day.

"Between the Second Window on the Left, and the Door, and a little above them, is inserted another Brick of the same Description, on which is cut the following: M V H. 1752.

"South of the South Window, and a little above it, is cut, on a similar Brick, I V H. 1752. These Initials are supposed to have stood for Dirk, (or Derick, Richard), Matthias and Jacob Van der Heyden.

"Jacob I., Proprietor of the Northern Farm, or upper Part of the City, was a Grandson of Dirk, the original Lessee. He married Maria, Daughter of Aaron Van Schaick of Coxsackie. The House he occupied (and which has been owned and occupied about thirty Years by Dr. A. D. Spoor, now of Louisville, Ky.), was built for him in the Year 1767; after oral Instructions of his Father on his Deathbed at Albany, where, while on a Visit, he was seized with a violent Colick, of which he died suddenly, under Circumstances that prevented the Execution of a Will in due Form.

"It is built of Bricks 9 inches long by 4½ inches wide, and less than 2 inches thick, and baked so thoroughly as to resist all Attempts to cut them with a Trowel. It is one Story high, with Gam-

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brel or Curb Roof, the Rafters of which are nearly vertical, and these, starting from the Side-walls, several Feet above the Second Floor, make the upper Rooms equivalent to the second Story, except that they are lighted only by Windows at the Ends of the House.

"The original Shingles were three Feet long, secured by large ten-penny Wrought-Nails, which were replaced in 1834 by new ones of modern Dimensions; the first having withstood the Elements sixty-seven Years.

"The Floor Timber is all Oak or Yellow-pine, and still perfectly sound. The Floors and the Casings of the Doors and Windows, are all Yellow-pine; and even the Doors and Sashes were of the same Material, and made in the Style of that remote Period; but were replaced by new ones in 1834.

"The House stands about one hundred Feet from the east Line of River Street, between Hoosick and Vanderheyden Streets. When the House was built, however, River Street had not been laid out, and the Road to Lansingburgh ran East of it, and the Homestead embraced all the Ground on the west Side down to the River.

"The Indians still had Wigwams a few Rods north of the House at the time it was built. The Mansion House was apportioned to Derick I., in the Partition of the Estate.

"Jacob D., was the Proprietor of the Middle Farm, which was first laid out into City Lots and built on, and he therefore was called Patroon. His Mansion was the large Brick Building still standing in the Walnut Grove, at the southwest Corner of Eighth and Grand-Division Streets, near the Church of the Holy Cross.

"His Wife was a Yates. He died 4th Sept., 1809, leaving several Sons. One of them, Derick G., built and occupied as a Mansion the brick Building at the Corner of River and Ferry Streets, which has since been enlarged, and converted into a Publick House, known at present as the St. Charles Hotel.

"He died in one of the West India Islands, whither he had gone for the Benefit of his Health, and left two or three Daughters, all now Deceased.

"John G., another Son of Jacob D., married a Miss Gaston, and died childless; and Jacob, a younger Son, married a Sister of the above mentioned Miss Gaston. He died long since in London, England, leaving two Children, who are now, or were lately, living with their Mother in Lansingburgh."

The "Albany Gazette" of January 9, 1789, printed this notice:

"This Evening the Freeholders of the Place lately known as Vanderheyden's or Ashley's Ferry, situate on the East Bank of

Hudson's River, about seven Miles above Albany, met for the Purpose of establishing a Name for the said Place; when, by a Majority of Voices it was confirmed that in Future it should be called and known by the Name of TROY."

A notable house was that of Jacob Van der Heyden in Albany. He bought it in 1778, and for many years it was known as "the Van der Heyden Palace." This venerable edifice was situated in North Pearl street, on the west side, the second lot south of the corner of Maiden Lane, where is now the main entrance of the Albany Savings Bank. It was erected by the Hon. Johannes Beeckman, a worthy and wealthy burgher of his day. It was tradition that the bricks employed in its construction were imported in ballast from Holland. Mr. Beeckman occupied it as his residence until his death in 1756, after which time his two daughters continued to dwell there until their marriage a short time previous to the Revolution. The elder daughter married Mr. Bain of the British army, and removed to the West Indies; the other married John McCrea, and remained in the house until the outbreak of the war, when they departed from the city. George Merchant then secured its use for an academy, there being no other in the city at that time.

Jacob Van der Heyden bought it in 1778 for the consideration of \$5,790 in American money, or about \$7,000, paying for it in English pounds, although based on the rate of money at that time some have figured it as \$2,895. It would seem that Van der Heyden secured it as an investment at a forced sale, when Miss Van der Heyden by wedding an Englishman felt obliged to leave her home on account of the war, for it continued as an academy until the great fire of 1797 destroyed Jacob Van der Heyden's residence, and he moved into the Beeckman house that he had bought. He remained there until his death in 1820, and bequeathed it to members of his family. For years, standing in so prominent a place on the main street, it attracted much attention by reason of being a remarkably fine "type of Dutch architecture, and tourists made it a point to see the Van der Heyden Palace." Its dimensions were a frontage of fifty feet and a depth of twenty feet. It had a central hall, with a large room on each side. In spite of the modernizing it experienced by way of improvement for comfort and repairs, it nevertheless car-

ried the mind back to early Dutch days, for the huge oaken beams and massive iron braces extended into the rooms. It arrested the antiquarian fancy of Washington Irving on his visit to Albany, and is described by the great historian in his story of Dolph Heyliger, in Bracebridge Hall, as the residence of Heer Antony Vanderheyden. Irving secured the weather vane from the peak of the Van der Heyden Palace, a metal horse running at great speed, and it may be seen today gracing the turret of the Washington Irving residence at Sunny Side, on the east shore of the Hudson, some thirty miles north of New York City. He built "Sunny Side" shortly after his return from European travel in 1806, and it was in 1822 that he wrote "Bracebridge Hall," introducing the character of Van der Heyden.

The Van der Heyden Palace had a variety of tenants, until finally the property was purchased by the Baptist church, and the work of demolition of this respected landmark began on June 5, 1833. Some twenty years later the place became the Temple of the Odd Fellows, with suites of offices for lawyers, and the new building of the Albany Savings Bank was opened on the Van der Heyden Palace site on April 25, 1899. Today, nearly two hundred years after that house was built, Albanians still recall the site and appearance of the landmark, and the "Palace" is a familiar term.

The City Hall in Troy was erected upon ground that had been in the Van der Heyden family for many generations. There had been considerable discussion between the mayor and the common council regarding an advantageous site, abetted by factions of citizens who were particularly bitter in their arguments. The mayor's faction was an advocate of the location finally selected, which had been a burial-ground given to the city, at Third and State streets. The common council had stood out for the purchase of the Athenaeum building. Both sides issued petitions to be presented to the council. On June 8, 1875, the cemetery site was adopted. In order to perfect the title, the Van der Heyden heirs were awarded \$10,000 to surrender any rights thereto, and the latter's representative was Miss Elizabeth Van der Heyden. It might be remarked that the family has been recognized among lawyers as one of importance and ever before their minds, for practically all the deeds incorpo-

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rate the name of Van der Heyden when a search for clear title is made.

II. Matthys Van der Heyden, the oldest child of Jacob Mathyssen Van der Heyden and his wife, Annatje Hals, was born in 1656. Instead of living with other members of his family at Albany, he removed to New Amsterdam (New York City) where his name appears on the muster roll of 1673 as a cadet in Captain Cornelis Steenwyck's company of New Orange militia of New Amsterdam. His name is on a list of members of the Dutch Reformed Church of New Amsterdam on September 2, 1675. He took the oath of allegiance to the King of England on November 4, 1678, after the Dutch gave way to the English rule. In a census for 1703 he is found as the head of a family that then included one female and two children.

His father-in-law, Colonel Augustine Hermans, had a colony in Maryland, named Bohemia Manor, and it is believed that it was in 1703 that Matthys Van der Heyden removed to that place. He was a member of the Legislature of Maryland for the terms 1709-13-15-16. His daughters married into respected Maryland families, and had noteworthy descendants, as was the case when Ariana Van der Heyden married Hon. Edmund Jennings, whose daughter, Ariana Jennings, married Hon. John Randolph, and their son, Edmund Randolph, born August 10, 1753, was aide to General Washington, 1775; Governor of Virginia, 1786-88; United States Attorney-General, 1789-90, and Secretary of State in Washington's cabinet, 1794-95.

Matthys Van der Heyden married Anna Margaretha Hermans. She was born in 1658, daughter of Colonel Augustine Hermans, who was a native of Prague, Bohemia. After receiving an education in Holland, he came to America about the same time as the Van der Heyden progenitor, and settled in New Amsterdam, where he married his first wife, Maria Varleth. He then removed to Maryland and organized there a colony which he named Bohemia Manor. He was repeatedly chosen a member of the Maryland Legislature. His second wife was a Miss Ward, of Cecil county, Maryland. Issue of Matthys and Anna Margaretha (Hermans) Van der Heyden:

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1. Jane Van der Heyden; married — — — Coutts, of Scotland.
2. Anna Francina Van der Heyden, mar. (1st) Edward Shippen, of Philadelphia; mar. (2nd) Col. Hynson, of Chestertown, Md.
3. Augustina Van der Heyden, b. 1685; died 1775; mar. James Harris.
4. Ariana Van der Heyden, b. 1690; died April —, 1741; mar. (1st) James Frisby, Feb. 9, 1713; mar. (2nd) Thomas Bordley, of Yorkshire, Eng., in 1723; mar. (3rd) Nov., 1728, Hon. Edmund Jennings, of Annapolis, Md.

II. Dirck Van der Heyden, second son of Jacob Tyssen Van der Heyden, was born in the Colony of Rensselaerswyck, or Albany. By his efforts he accumulated a sufficient sum of money to buy an enormous estate for himself, and no doubt this is the reason that so many historical writers have considered him the progenitor of the family in America. At any rate he was prominent, and the head of a large family. Different writers have styled him "a tapper," "an inn-keeper," and "a winekeeper." Doubtless he pursued the same course as that of most of the leading burghers, being a trader and conducting a general store, for aside from agricultural pursuits there was small opportunity in those days of investing and making money. He died at Van der Heyden (Troy, N. Y.), and was brought to the Dutch burial ground of Albany for interment on October 13, 1738. It is likely that his remains are to-day under the tower of the Madison Avenue Dutch Reformed Church of that city, whither were removed all the bodies which were placed about the old church at the intersection of Broadway and State street, and removed about 1805 to the new church grounds on Beaver street, Albany, to rest there until it was razed. A description of his property, told in brief, is of wider interest than a family concern, for it forms the early history of one of the well-known cities of this country.

Jan Barentsen Wemp (*alias* Poest) of Rensselaerswyck, having been thrifty and provident as a trader, decided to invest his savings in the fertile valley along the east shore of the Hudson above Albany, and he bought what was commonly called the Great Meadow Ground, between the Poesten kill and Meadow creek, now forming a portion of the site of Troy. He did not think alone of the possibilities of agriculture, for there was no limit to the opportunities for

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farming in those days when the land was sparsely settled upon; but he had in mind the advantage of intercepting the savages bearing furs to the white traders before they passed down the river to trade with the inhabitants of Beverwyck. This would allow him to purchase countless beaver and other skins, or, lacking the funds to corner the fur market, he could make a selection. Wemp had, however, but four years in which to put his plans into execution, for he was taken violently sick, and died in June, 1663. He bequeathed his valuable property to his wife, two sons and three daughters. The eldest of his daughters, Aeltje, had married Jan Cornelise Van der Heyden. The widow did not remain unmarried long, for the year following her widowhood, she married Sweer Teunise Van Velsen, and thus he acquired control of much good property.

This particular tract of land was the most southerly of the estate, for Sir Richard Nicolls, the Colonial Governor, confirmed his possession by a patent of April 13, 1667, describing it as "a certain parcel of land lying near Albany, on the other side of the creek or kill, beginning from the mill on the creek and to go on over the said creek unto the Great Meadow ground, whereabout sixty-six paces the trees are marked." This same patent states that Jan Barentsen Wemp acquired the land from the Indian owners in the year 1659, with the consent of Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer, director for the Patroon, and Arent Van Curler. The mill was evidently the saw-mill operated by Jan Barentsen Wemp, whose name appears in the Rensselaerswyck records in the form of Jan Barentsen Poest, —hence the Poesten kill at Troy.

Dirck Van der Heyden had large land holdings in the Schaghticoke region, to the east of Troy. It seems that the city of Albany acquired a tract of considerable size there, and at times bargained to lease or sell farm portions. It was decided in Common Council, August 27, 1714; present Robert Livingston, Jun., Esq., Mayor; Johannes Cuyler, Esq., Recorder, and six aldermen (states an old documentary record), that, "Whereas notice has been given by advertisement to ye inhabitants of this City that some land lying at Schaahkook & places adjacent belonging to the said City shall be farmed out this day at two o'clock in ye afternoon,—It is there-

fore: Resolved that severall pieces of land at Schaahkook shall be let or farmed out on the severall conditions following by a public vendue." Then followed a description of the several lots:—

"No. Seven. Direk Vanderheyden is ye highest bidder for one-third part of ye Round flatt & one-third of a small flatt of six morgan on ye south side of ye Schaahkooks Creek, together with one-third of sixty morgan of wood land adjoyning to ye sd Round flatt for ye sume of seaventy-five Pounds and ye Rent of thirty bushels of merchandable winter wheat after ye first day of May one thousand seven hundred and seaventeen yearly and every year in ye month of January or February for ever, and on such conditions as ye other tenants.

"Direk Vanderheyden is the highest bidder for one-third part of ye Round flatt & one-third part of a small flatt of six morgan on ye south side of ye Schaahkooks Creek, together with one-third of sixty morgan of wood land adjoyning to ye said Round flatt for ye sume of Eighty Seaven Pounds and ye Rent of thirty bushell winter wheat after the first day of May one thousand seven hundred and seaventeen, and on such conditions as the other tenants." (The decision regarding the various farm lots above mentioned was determined by drawing slips of paper from the mayor's hat).

It was while he was a resident of Albany that he made his famous purchase of the Troy lands from Pieter Pieterse Van Wogglelum, June 2, 1707. From that time onward, he was regarded as the Patroon, for his estate equalled the proportions of a manor and it bore his name, appearing on the maps as Van der Heyden. His name appears upon a petition addressed to King William I, of England, in 1701.

Direk Van der Heyden had an unfortunate experience with Indians in 1686, the year in which his city received its charter. He left Albany on an important expedition to visit an Indian tribe, and his little party was set upon by both French and Indians, who not only robbed them, but carried him and his friends to Canada, where they were held for some time as prisoners in Quebec. Ordinarily this would not have been severe upon a man, but letters he wrote show that he was severely maltreated, and was practically subjected to slavery, being made to work as their prisoner. He finally made his escape, in company with three others, and at the end of five days

arrived back at Albany very much exhausted by his painful and perilous journey. He made the long trip entirely by water, excepting for a space of about three miles.

Dirck (Derick or Richard) Van der Heyden married Rachel Jochemse Ketelhuyn, at Albany, March 9, 1687. This family name was also written Ketelhuin at that time, and a little later on was abbreviated to Kittel and Kittle. This date of their marriage was about half a year before Albany received a charter from Governor Thomas Dongan. Her father was Joachim (or Jochem) Ketelhuyn. He came to Rensselaerswyck from Cremyn, in 1642, the same year in which Dominie Johannes Megapolensis was sent over by Patroon Kiliaen Van Rensselaer to erect the first church of any denomination at Albany, then known as his colony of Rensselaerswyck, under the guns of Fort Orange. He was the progenitor of his family in America. He bought a house lot on the west corner of Broadway (then North Market street) and Maiden Lane, Albany.

All their children were baptized in the Albany Dutch Church.
Issue:

1. Agniet (Agnes), bap. Aug. 28, 1687.
2. Annatje (Anna), bap. Jan. 1, 1689.
3. Jacobus (James), bap. Aug. 3, 1690.
4. Jacob (Jacob), bap. April 23, 1692; see further.
5. Dirck (Richard), bap. Jan. 7, 1694; see further.
6. David (David), bap. May 19, 1695; see further.
7. Matthys (Matthew), bap. Jan. 10, 1697; see further.
8. Annatje (Anna), bap. March 26, 1699; died July 10, 1709.
9. Jochem (Joachim), bap. Sept. 15, 1700; see further.
10. Rachel, bap. Sept. 19, 1703.
11. Johannes (John), bap. March 2, 1707; see further.

III. Jacob Van der Heyden, the fourth child of Dirck and Rachel Jochemse (Ketelhuyn) Van der Heyden, was born at Albany, New York, where he was baptised in the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church on April 23, 1692. He died April 8, 1746, and was buried in the Dutch Church burial ground at Albany, on April 10, 1746. Jacob Van der Heyden married Hester Visscher, at Albany, on May 3, 1719. She was born at Albany, where she was baptised on July 21, 1692. She was the third child of Nanning Harmense Visscher and his wife, Hester Tjerkse. Issue:

1. Dirck Van der Heyden, bap. June 19, 1720, of whom further.
2. Nanning Van der Heyden, bap. Nov. 25, 1721; was an officer in American Revolution, serving as a lieutenant in 3rd New York Regiment of the Line, under Col. James Clinton, and also under Col. Pieter Gansevoort.
3. Jacob Van der Heyden, bap. March 6, 1725; see further.
4. Alida Van der Heyden, bap. Oct. 27, 1727.

IV. Dirck Van der Heyden, eldest child of Jacob and Hester (Visscher) Van der Heyden, was born at Albany, New York, where he was baptised on June 19, 1720. He became the heir-at-law to the Northern and Middle Allotments, and conveyed the former to his younger brother Jacob, by a deed dated July 2, 1746, being the 19th year of King George II, as recorded in the Rensselaer County Clerk's office, Book of Deeds, pages 62-65, March 17, 1802. This property has already been described.

Dirck Van der Heyden married Elizabeth Wendell. She was born at Albany, where she was baptised in the Dutch church, on November 29, 1724. She was the daughter of Evert Wendell and his wife, Elizabeth Staats. Issue:

1. Elizabeth Van der Heyden, bap. Nov. 16, 1746; d. y.
2. Elizabeth Van der Heyden, bap. Feb. 19, 1749; mar. Jan Hansen, at Albany, Dec. 13, 1771, who was born at Albany, where bap. March 28, 1742, the son of Philip Hansen and Geertruy Van Nes. Issue:

Elizabeth Hansen, b. at Albany, April 30, 1774.

3. Hester Van der Heyden, bap. at Albany, Aug. 12, 1750; mar. Cornelis Lansing, who was born at Albany, where bap. July 6, 1752, son of Abraham Lansing (the ancestor of the Lansing family of Lansingburg, N. Y.), and his wife, Catharina Lieverse.

4. Catarina Van der Heyden, bap. at Albany, Jan. 5, 1752; mar. Levinus Lansing, at Albany, March 11, 1770, who was born at Albany, where bap. on June 23, 1754, the son of Franciscus Lansing and Maritje Lieverse. Issue: i. Cathrina Lansing, bap. at Albany, Oct. 8, 1770. ii. Dirck Lansing, bap. at Albany, Jan. 23, 1772.

5. Jacob Dirckse Van der Heyden, bap. July 14, 1754; d. y.

6. Alida Van der Heyden, bap. July 14, 1754; mar. Elisha Adams.

7. Susanna Van der Heyden, bap. Nov. 5, 1758; d. y.

8. Jacob Dirckse Van der Heyden, b. Oct. 28, bap. Nov. 5, 1758; see forward.

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9. Susanna Van der Heyden, bap. Oct. 24, 1762; mar. Gideon Hinman.

V. *Jacob Dirckse Van der Heyden*, son of Dirck and Elizabeth (Wendell) Van der Heyden, was born at Albany, New York, October 28, 1758, where he was baptised on November 5, 1758. His name sometimes appears as Jacob Derick Van der Heyden. It has been stated that he attended college and received a fair education, his family being one of ample means and ranking among the wealthy land-owners of New York Colony. When only seventeen years of age he became the proprietor of the "Middle Farm," at Van der Heyden, or Troy, New York. It is a matter of historic concern to note the great extent of real estate that Jacob D. Van der Heyden owned. One gains an admirable estimate of this from an article published on May 26, 1806, in "The Troy Gazette," from which a portion of the description of the growth of Van der Heyden, or Troy, is copied:

"As part of the village, built on the estate of Jacob I. Van der Heyden, deceased, has not been regularly laid out, no other street yet intersects River street in a northerly or southerly direction, except one by a circuitous passage. This one is a continuation of Fifth street, which, when laid out in a direct line, will run into River street about a mile from the south end of the latter, and with the upper end of that form a street nearly straight, through the whole length of the village. Sixth, Seventh and Eighth (and perhaps other streets) if continued from the north line of the original plan, will run in like course, east of north, without intersecting or touching River street at all. But on the south, these streets will strike the kill before-mentioned, on the east side of the village.

"Six hundred and eight lots are already laid out on the estate of J. D. Van der Heyden, Esq., and several more on land further south. All those lots on the cross streets will afford at least two additional house lots, should the population of the village ever require, or the high price of building lots tempt the subdivision of them,—a thing no way improbable.

"Even the lots, fronting the other streets only, may afford two building lots, as has been the case with many of them already. So that the land of J. D. Van der Heyden, Esq., will admit of the erection of fifteen or sixteen hundred dwelling-houses and stores, together with out-houses sufficient for the same."

Elikanah Watson describes the village of Van der Heyden in a

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more entertaining and graphic manner in his "Reminiscences of Albany," which was written at about the same time as the foregoing. It is to be found in Munsell's "Annals of Albany," Volume X, page 220. The following is an excerpt:

"My curiosity satisfied, I sent my horse towards Albany and embarked on board a returning bateaux, and proceeded down the Mohawk to Little Falls, anxious to examine that place, with an eye to canals.

"We abandoned ourselves to the current of the (Mohawk) river, which, with the aid of our oars, impelled us at a rapid rate. We met numerous bateaux coming up the river, freighted with whole families, emigrating to the 'land of promise.'

"I was surprised to observe the dexterity with which they manage their boats, and the progress they make in polling up the river against a current of at least three miles an hour. The first night we encamped at a log-hut on the banks of the river, and the next morning I disembarked at German Flats.

"The meanderings of the river, by my estimate, about doubles the distance of a direct line. We passed a valuable tract of 16,000 acres of land situated on the north side of the river, which has been granted by the State to Baron Steuben.

"From Schenectady, I pursued the road across a thickly settled country, embracing many fine farms, to Ashley's Ferry, six miles above Albany.

"On the east side of the river, at this point, a new town has been recently laid out, named Vanderheyden. (The original name of the present beautiful city of Troy). This place is situated precisely at the head of navigation on the Hudson.

"Several bold and enterprising adventurers have already settled there; a number of capacious warehouses and several dwellings are already erected. It is favorably situated in reference to the important and growing trade of Vermont and Massachusetts; and I believe it not only bids fair to be a serious thorn in the side of New City (Lansingburg), but in the issue a fatal rival.

"I spent a day in examining this locality, and then walked on the banks of the Hudson, a distance of three miles, to New City, where I continued several days. This place is thronged by mercantile emigrants, principally from New England, who have enjoyed a very extensive and lucrative trade, supplying Vermont and the region on both banks of the Hudson, as far as Lake George, with merchandise, and receiving in payment wheat, pot and pearl ashes, and lum-

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ber. But, as I remarked, I think Vanderheyden must, from its more eligible position, attain the ultimate ascendancy.

"I crossed the river at Half-Moon, a small hamlet, and about a mile from this place I visited the Cohoes falls, upon the Mohawk river.

"Nothing so much charms and elevates my mind as the contemplation of nature in her bold and majestic works. Fixing my position on the margin of the bank which descends in a vertical precipice of about seventy feet, I beheld the volume of the Mohawk, plunging over a fall of about the same height, and nearly perpendicular.

"The barrier of rocks, the lofty banks, the roaring and dashing of the waters, and the cloud of mist, presented a spectacle of surprising sublimity. The river divides immediately below the falls into three branches, and empties into the Hudson nearly opposite New City. The bed of the stream is filled with rocks, among which it rushes and surges in terrific impetuosity."

Back in the year 1800, the people of Troy and Lansingburg felt the need of a bank, as there never had been an institution of that character in the vicinity, and the inhabitants had to undertake a journey to Albany when wishing to make a deposit. By the Act of March 31, 1801, the project was brought to a climax by the granting of a charter to the Farmers' Bank. The question arose whether it should be in Lansingburg or Troy, and when the ballots were lifted one by one from a hat, the former name appeared on two, and Troy was written on the third ballot thus removed. The directors agreed to accept two lots, a collection of houses around Mount Olympus, which were tendered by Jacob D. Van der Heyden, and decided to erect thereon a building to be thirty by forty feet. It was constructed from brick, and the site was the second lot to the south of the one on the southwest corner of First and State streets. It was opened November 15, 1808.

On November 29, 1808, a number of influential men of Troy assembled for the purpose of forming "the Methodist Episcopal Church of the Village of Troy," and, after incorporating, turned their attention to the purchase of a lot and the erection of an edifice. The ground for this church was bought from Jacob D. Van der Heyden on December 25, 1808, and consisted of lots 743 and 744, located

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on the east side of the alley, on the east side of State street, between Fourth and Fifth streets, the value being fixed at \$500.

The ground for the first cemetery in Troy was conveyed to the village trustees by Jacob D. Van der Heyden, on May 10, 1796. It extended along the east side of Third street, from State street to the lot on which the First Baptist Church was built. The last interment was that of the remains of Platt Titus, who died April 30, 1833. At the time this site was chosen for Troy's new City Hall, in 1875, there were 156 graves still in existence, most of the removals having been made to Mount Ida and Oakwood cemeteries at the expense of the city.

The old Eagle Tavern of 1803, which witnessed many entertainments and lodged scores of men of wide repute, was built on land leased by Jacob D. Van der Heyden. In 1816 his land was absorbed by the city of Troy to form the park known as Washington Square.

Undoubtedly the most important or popular commercial block in Troy today is that containing the large dry-goods building of the late William H. Frear, operated since 1917 by his sons. Its career started on March 10, 1789, when Jacob D. Van der Heyden leased a large lot to Mathise Vandemburgh, who in turn surrendered it to Elias Lee, and it passed next to Nathan Betts, Nathan and Stephen Warren, to Eliakim Warren, and on October 13, 1831, to the heirs of LeGrand Cannon, and finally, on May 4, 1891, to William H. Frear, who paid \$124,000 to the heirs of Cannon.

These few facts, presented in briefest detail, are mentioned in order to illustrate with what large interests of Troy's city life he was dealing, and the private deals overshadowed these considerably.

The handsome large east window of the First Presbyterian Church of Troy was placed there in memory of Jacob D. Van der Heyden by the congregation. A marble tablet in that church bears this inscription: "Inscribed to the Memory of Jacob D. Van der Heyden, Esq., Founder and Father of this Congregation, and the first Ruling Elder in this Church. Born in Albany, October 28, 1758. Died in Troy, September 4, 1809."

Under the Act of March 25, 1794, creating the Trustees for the Village of Troy, the name of Jacob D. Van der Heyden appears on the list of 1794.

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Jacob D. Van der Heyden died in his home at Troy on September 4, 1809, and was buried in Oakwood Cemetery of that place. His children survived him, yet none lived to reach the age of forty-three years. He left a will which exhibits the fairness of his character, for he made a most equitable division of his property. He directed that the land first be divided into specific shares holding an equal value, and numbered with a certain lot corresponding with the number of his children. These ballots were then to be placed in a box, with their names upon ballots in a similar box, and two disinterested persons were to draw the slips from the boxes, which would then be matched, one name corresponding with the ballot bearing a description of the land. He allowed his executor to sell the land, or so much thereof as seemed best, in the interest of any minor child, contemplating an advantageous offer for any land before a child reached his majority and had the power to sell.

The eminent jurist, Judge John Woodworth, who was well-acquainted with Mr. Van der Heyden, furnishes this estimate of his character: "His example at that early day, shed a moral influence in the community, the fruit of which is visible at the present day." Another person wrote of him: "Descending from a Dutch ancestry of grave, virtuous and industrious people, he was one of Troy's most estimable citizens."

Jacob Dirckse Van der Heyden married Annatje (Anna, or Jan-netje) Yates, at Albany, in 1781. She was baptised at Albany on February 19, 1749, and died (aged 29 yrs., 4 mos.), September 11, 1793. Her parents were Adam Christoffel Yates and Annatje Geritse, Albany. He married (2nd) Mary Owen, who was born July 1, 1767, and died February 20, 1809, the daughter of Joshua Owen, of Troy. Issue:

1. Derick Yates Van der Heyden, born Dec. 23, 1781; died (aged 36 yrs. 1 m. 6 d.) Feb. 1, 1818. He was firewarden for Troy for the Second Ward during the terms 1813-1814, 1814-1815, 1815-1816. He was constituted a trustee on the passage of the Act of April 13, 1814, "to incorporate the proprietors of the Conduit Company of Troy," which privileged that corporation to discontinue the use of earthen conduits and to lay cast-iron pipes instead. Formerly the village was supplied with water conveyed in wooden pipes, the

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trunks of trees having a small bore through the center, and later earthen pipes, two feet long, with a hole of an inch and a half diameter, were used. Issue: i. Jacob Derick Van der Heyden, born Dec. 18, 1812, died Dec. 7, 1816. ii. Derick Yates Van der Heyden, born ———, 1817, died March 28, 1818. iii. Jane Elizabeth Van der Heyden, born ———, 1814, died Dec. 9, 1833, mar. Jacob Douw Lansing.

2. Catherine Van der Heyden, born 1783; died April 7, 1822, aged 38 yrs., 8 mos., 27 d.; mar. Jacob Lansing, born in Albany, March 21, 1784, son of John Abraham Lansing and Elizabeth Fryer.

3. Jan Gerritsen Van der Heyden, born at Albany, Nov. 5, 1786; died at Troy, Jan. 5, 1829; no issue.

4. Jane Van der Heyden, born 1798; died Aug. 12, 1813, aged 14 yrs., 9 mos., 14 d.

5. Samuel Van der Heyden, born 1801; died at Troy, Nov. 27, 1823, aged 22 yrs., 6 days. Had son, Samuel Douglas Van der Heyden.

6. Jacob D. E. Van der Heyden, born 1804; died Dec. 25, 1839.

7. Blandina Van der Heyden, died Sept. 14, 1838; mar. Walter R. Morris.

8. Sally Ann Maria Van der Heyden, b. Apr. 1, 1806; d. Oct. 8, 1831; mar. John H. Bayeux.

IV. Jacob Van der Heyden, son of Jacob and Hester (Visscher) Van der Heyden, was born at Albany, New York, where he was baptised in the Dutch Church on March 6, 1725. He died at Albany, and was buried on September 24, 1820. He married Maria Halenbeck, about 1749. She was baptised March 8, 1724, and was the daughter of Jacob Isaacse Halenbeck, of Catskill, New York, and his wife, Maria Visscher, who were married November 18, 1715. The first-born child was named for its grandfather, Jacob Isaacse Halenbeck. Issue:

1. Jacob Isaacse Van der Heyden, bap. Dec. 3, 1749; see forward.

2. Nanning Van der Heyden, bap. Sept. 29, 1751; d. y.

3. Nanning Van der Heyden, bap. Feb. 24, 1754; died 1791; mar. Catharina Levison, by whom Annatje Van der Heyden, born Jan. 22, 1782.

4. Derick (or Dirck) Van der Heyden, bap. Jan. 7, 1759; see forward.

5. Maria Van der Heyden, bap. Nov. 1, 1761; mar. Levinus Levissee.

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V. Jacob Isaacse Van der Heyden, son of Jacob and Maria (Halenbeck) Van der Heyden, was baptised December 3, 1749, and died August 23, 1801. Married Maria Van Schaick. She was baptised July 26, 1746; died April 6, 1813, and was buried April 10, 1813. She was the daughter of Wessel Van Schaick, of Coxsackie, New York, and his wife, Maria Gerritse. Issue:

1. Jacob Isaacse Van der Heyden, Jr. Issue: i. Jacob Isaac Van der Heyden, born 1800; died Oct. 6, 1830; aged 29 yrs. 9 mos. ii. Maria Van der Heyden, married Robert M. Winne, son of Moses Winne. Robert M. Winne and Maria Van der Heyden Winne had: Elizabeth Ann Winne, who mar. Ransom Baldwin Moore, and had Mary Catherine Moore, who mar. (1st) Craig A. Marsh (dec.), issue: **Craig A., Jr.**, died in infancy; married (2nd) Orville Taylor Waring, of Plainfield, N. J.

2. Nancy Van der Heyden, mar. Elias Feats.

3. Maria Van der Heyden, born 1780; died April 29, 1835; aged 55 yrs., 11 mos., 3 d.; mar. Abraham Lansing, who was born Aug. 6, 1776; died June 2, 1820, son of John Abraham and Elizabeth (Fryer) Lansing.

4. John Van der Heyden, born 1784; died Sept. 6, 1811; aged 27 yrs.; no posterity.

5. Derick Isaac Van der Heyden, born 1785; died June 6, 1829; aged 33 yrs., 7 mos., 14 d.

6. Aaron Van der Heyden, born 1786; died Feb. 22, 1809; aged 22 yrs., 2 mos., 13 d.

7. Robert Van der Heyden, born 1789; died June 2, 1810; aged 21 y., 16 d.; no posterity.

V. Dirck Van der Heyden, son of Jacob and Maria (Halenbeck) Van der Heyden, was born January 5th and baptised January 7, 1759. This was at the time of the close of the French and Indian warfare. He conducted a farm of a great many acres back of Troy, near what is now Oakwood Cemetery. Issue:

1. Mary Van der Heyden, born May 23, 1779.

2. Jacob Dirck Van der Heyden, born Dec. 14, 1780; died at Troy, February —, 1862. He inherited the farm from his father. Mar. (1st) Alida ———, by whom Dirck; mar. (2nd) Mary C. Coons. Issue: i. Dirck Van der Heyden. ii. Jane Van der Heyden, born Apr. 27, 1815; died Meh. 24, 1863; mar. Lavinus Van Leversee, Clifton Park, Saratoga co., N. Y. iii. Nanning Van der Heyden, born at

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Troy, June 3, 1818; died at Troy, March 23, 1870; mar. Elizabeth L. Springer, born 1819; died July 9, 1846. Issue: a. Helen Maria Van der Heyden, born Jan. 1, 1842; died ———, 1860. b. Frances Van der Heyden, born Nov. 1, 1845.

III. Dirck Van der Heyden, fifth child of Dirck and Rachel Jochemse (Ketelhuyn) Van der Heyden, was born at Albany, New York, where he was baptised in the Reformed Dutch Church on January 7, 1694. His name also appears in records as "Derick." He became heir-at-law to the Northern and Middle Allotments, and conveyed to his brother Jacob the Northern Allotment, by deed dated July 2, 1746, being the 19th year of King George II, as recorded in the Rensselaer County Clerk's office in Book of Deeds, pp. 62-65, March 17, 1802.

Dirck Van der Heyden married Egbertje Bratt, April 22, 1716. She was baptised May 15, 1692, and was the daughter of Dirck Barentse Bratt and his wife, Annatje Teunise. They had an only child,—a daughter, named Rachel, baptised at Albany, in the Dutch Church, July 29, 1716. She mar. Harmen Nanning Visscher, at Albany, February 24, 1739. He was born at Albany, where he was baptised December 26, 1700; died at Albany, where he was buried on August 24, 1774, and was the son of Nanning Harmense Visscher and his wife, Alida Vinhagen. Issue: Nanning Visscher, born at Albany, where baptised December 2, 1739; married Alida Fonda, April 21, 1785. Issue: Rachel Visscher, born at Albany, February 7, 1786.

III. David Van der Heyden, sixth child of Dirck and Rachel Jochemse (Ketelhuyn) Van der Heyden, was born at Albany, New York, where he was baptized in the Dutch Church on May 19, 1695.

He released his interest in the lands located at Vanderheyden, or Troy, jointly deeded to the three brothers, to his elder brother, Jacob, on March 2, 1732, deciding to reside in Albany, where he was chosen Alderman of the Second Ward on September 29, 1744, and was re-elected September 29, 1745. He contracted with the Albany authorities to construct one of the old-time blockhouses, as described in a record made by the Common Council at a meeting held on December 12, 1747:

"This board agreed with Vanderheyden to supply Block House No. 4 on the same terms and for the same time as the others. He began last Thursday, being the 10th inst. Resolved, that if anything happen to be wanting to the Sentry boxes or Batteries round the walls of this city that the Mayor or Recorder or the Aldermen of the ward where such defect happens to be, or any of them, take care that the same be made, mended or repaired at the charge of the corporation. Resolved, that Johannes Hun and Cornelis Boghaert make up the deficiencies in the city wall at the several places as mentioned in a memorandum given to Johannes Hun for that purpose. Benjamin Bratt undertook to open and shutt the Gates and sweep the snow from off the Batteries in the northern division of the city at seven pound per annum from the first day of February. He began to open and shutt the Gates aforesaid the 28th day of January last. Johannes Seger undertook as above for the southern division at the same price."

David Van der Heyden made his will, February 7, 1770, which was probated on August 13, 1770, mentioning therein the children named below, with exception of Nanning. He died at Albany, May 30, 1770.

He had leased of the city on September 5, 1766, a lot in perpetuity for a family burial ground, on the west side of Swan street, north of Washington street, paying thereon a rental of \$2.50, which was commuted in 1856, on which lot was erected a vault, known as the "Stringer Vault," from his daughter Rachel, who married Dr. Samuel Stringer. At the time that excavations were made on the south side of Beaver street in Albany, between South Pearl and Green streets, in order to make a public market of what had been the "Middle" or Second Dutch Reformed Church, and its burial ground to the east and west thereof, in November, 1882, the remains of David Van der Heyden and those of his wife were found. Their bodies were exhumed and removed to the new burial ground, and a transcription was made of the inscription upon the tombs:

"Here Lies the Body of David Van Der Heyden, Who Died the 30th of May, Anno Domini, 1770. Enter'd in the 76th Year of his Age."

"Memento Mori. Here Lies the Body of Gertrude, Wife of David Van Der Heyden, Who died the 27th day of September, 1784, Aged 88 Years and 6 months."

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Talcott makes this reference:

"The Beaver street burial ground had been used for that purpose for many years before the church at the foot of State street, at the intersection of Broadway, Albany, was demolished in 1806, and the dead from that churchyard were removed to the Beaver street burial yard of the Middle Dutch Church when the other church was razed. When the Middle Dutch Church was built, the gravestones were laid upon the graves and covered with earth to a depth of three feet. The records show that before this, as soon as the ground was wholly occupied, it was customary to add a layer of earth upon the surface and commence burying over the top of the last tier of coffins. After the church burial ground was finally abandoned for burials, the new churchyard was used, located south of the Capitol Park, adjoining State street, and after a time the bodies were removed to what is now Washington Park, Albany, and in 1842, all were taken to the Albany Rural Cemetery, that the city might employ the burial ground as a public park."

David Van der Heyden married Geertruy Visscher, at Albany, December 26, 1725. She was born in Albany, where she was baptised on March 8, 1696. She was the fifth child of Nanning Harmense Visscher and his wife, Alida Vinhagen. She died in her home at Albany, on September 27, 1784, and was buried in the Dutch Church burial ground at the intersection of Broadway and State street, less than a hundred feet to the west of the Federal building, or Post-Office; but about 1805 the remains were removed to the Beaver street burial ground, and later on to the cemetery occupying the site of Washington Park. They now rest in the Albany Rural Cemetery. Issue:

1. Dirck Van der Heyden, bap. at Albany, Oct. 30, 1726.
2. Rachel Van der Heyden, bap. at Albany, Aug. 22, 1730; d. y.
3. David Van der Heyden, bap. at Albany, Nov. 19, 1732.
4. Alida Van der Heyden, bap. at Albany, Aug. 28, 1734; mar. Dominie Barent Vrooman, of Schenectady, N. Y.
5. Jacob Van der Heyden, bap. March 3, 1737; see forward.
6. Nanning Van der Heyden, buried Sept. 23, 1739.
7. Rachel Van der Heyden, bap. July 16, 1740; mar. Dr. Samuel Stringer, a native of Maryland, and settled in Albany at the close of the French War, where he died July 11, 1817, after a valiant career as a Revolutionary surgeon, and prominent member of the earliest Masonic fraternity.

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IV. Jacob Van der Heyden, son of David and Geertruy (Visscher) Van der Heyden, was born at Albany, New York, where he was baptised on March 3, 1737. He died in his home in that city, September 19, 1820.

He was a man of social prominence, was well educated, and had an ample fortune. He was a director of the Bank of Albany, which was the first institution of its kind in that city. He was chosen a city assessor in 1783. In 1778 he bought the house erected in 1725 by Johannes Beeckman on the west side of North Pearl street, Albany, one house lot to the south of the southwest corner of Maiden Lane, which became famed as a landmark, known widely as the "Van der Heyden Palace," until that attractive, typical Dutch residence was razed in 1833, to afford a site for the First Baptist Church of Albany. This was the house that caught the attention of Washington Irving. He married Janet Livingston, who was born in 1753, and died on December 10, 1825. She was the daughter of John and Catherine (Ten Broeck) Livingston. Issue:

1. Janet Livingston Van der Heyden, born at Albany, November 22, 1777; she removed to Stillwater, Saratoga county, New York.

2. Alida Van der Heyden, born at Albany, 1780; died Jan. 16, 1805; no issue.

3. Captain David Van der Heyden, born at Albany, July 19, 1784; died Sept. 19, 1820. He served in the War of 1812 as a second lieutenant of 6th New York Regiment, and was promoted captain.

4. Derick Livingston Van der Heyden, born at Albany, 1789; died Feb. 8, 1826, and was buried Feb. 12, 1826. He was "an attorney-at-law and master in chancery." He was elected clerk of the State Assembly by 63 votes, when it convened on November 7, 1820, being then thirty years old. He delivered the patriotic oration at Geneva, N. Y., July 4, 1820, and the one at Albany, July 4, 1821.

III. Matthys Van der Heyden, seventh child of Dirck and Rachel Jochemse (Ketelhuyn) Van der Heyden, was born at Albany, New York, where he was baptised in the Dutch Church on January 10, 1697. Died in 1772.

He inherited what was known as the Southern Allotment of the lands at Van der Heyden, or Troy. In 1739, one-third of his father's vast estate was partitioned to him. His share contained four

hundred and ninety acres. This tract was bounded on the north by what is now Division street, and on the south by the Poesten kill. Upon this farm he built his residence in 1752, locating it on a site which would be the southeast corner of River and Division streets, Troy, New York.

He was a private in Captain Henry Van Rensselaer's company of the Albany county militia, in 1715, being then only eighteen years old. He was made a firemaster of the Second Ward in Albany, on November 16, 1721, and held the same office for the First Ward, in 1732. Although an Albanian for the first half of his life, when he received the fortune his father bequeathed to him in land at Troy, he deemed it best to leave Albany for the remainder of his life.

Matthys Van der Heyden married first Geertruy — — —, and he married (second) Margarita Bratt, or Bradt, Albany, December 17, 1730. Margarita Bratt was born at Albany, June 29, 1707, and was the daughter of Captain Johannes Barentse and Maria (Ketelhuyn) Bratt, residing on the north corner of Broadway and Maiden Lane, in Albany. Issue:

1. Derick M. Van der Heyden, bap. May 14, 1732; see forward.
2. Johannes Van der Heyden, bap. Dec. 12, 1733; drowned, June 18, 1784.
3. Jochem Bratt Van der Heyden, bap. June 20, 1736.
4. Matthys Van der Heyden, bap. Nov. 25, 1739.
5. Mattheus Van der Heyden, bap. Feb. 14, 1742.
6. Maria Van der Heyden, bap. Jan. 10, 1746.

IV. Derick Matthys Van der Heyden, son of Matthys and Margarita (Bratt) Van der Heyden, was born at Albany, where he was baptised on May 14, 1732. He died May 16, 1814.

When seventeen years old, he managed to have his name entered on the city records, by reason of his youthful pranks, thus becoming of interest to his posterity. The record of April 3, 1749, shows a summons for him and Jacob Van der Heyden, as follows: "The Common Council ordered the constables of this city to notify the following persons to appear before the board, and the following appeared and were ordered to appear next Mayor's Court, with sufficient sureties for their appearance at the next Generall sessions to answer what they know of breaking down the market houses in

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this city, of which they are suspected to be concerned in breaking down part of that one which stands in the Second Ward, viz: Wouter De Foreest, Jan Knoet, Dirck M. Van Der Heyden, Daniel R. Winne, Bastiaen Fisher, Jacob Van Der Heyden, Jacob De Garmo, Dirck Ahu. Roseboom.'"

He was commissioned an ensign of Col. Sir William Johnson's regiment of Albany county militia on August 18, 1757, at the outbreak of the French and Indian War, and thus at the age of twenty-five years participated in active fighting with savages in vicinity of Lake George.

Derick M. Van der Heyden married Sara Wendell, at Albany, July 15, 1758. She was born at Albany, where she was baptized in the Dutch Church on November 27, 1726, and she was the daughter of Isaac Wendell and his wife, Catalyna Van Dyck. Issue:

1. Margarita Van der Heyden, bap. June 17, 1759; mar. at Schaghticoke, June 20, 1779, Matthew J. DeGarmo.

2. Matthias Van der Heyden, bap. Sept. 9, 1760; died Aug. 17, 1825; mar. Mary Daucher, or Denker. Issue: i. Derick Matthias Van der Heyden, born Aug. 26, 1783; died Feb. 5, 1809. ii. Henry Matthias Van der Heyden, born May 25, 1785; died June 22, 1820. iii. Matthias Van der Heyden, born Nov. 25, 1788; died Nov. 23, 1840. iv. Jacob Matthias Van der Heyden, born June 11, 1793; mar. Rebekah McCarty.

3. Johannes Dirckse Van der Heyden, born Oct. 18, 1761; died April 13, 1825. He was a private during the American Revolution, serving in the Sixth Company of the Fourth Rensselaerswyck Battalion, commanded by Colonel Stephen J. Schuyler. He married Susan Van Arnum. Issue: i. Richard Van der Heyden. ii. Jacob Van der Heyden. iii. Levinus D. Van der Heyden. iv. Susan Van der Heyden; mar. Philip Ford. v. Sarah Van der Heyden; mar. Henry Gardiner.

4. Richard Van der Heyden, born June 3, 1763; died Jan. 1, 1816; mar. (1st) Ariaantje Wheeler; mar. (2nd) Elizabeth Goodheart.

5. Abraham Dirckse Van der Heyden, born April 25, 1767; died March 14, 1847; mar. Maria Sharp. Issue: i. George Van der Heyden. ii. Richard Van der Heyden. iii. John F. Van der Heyden. iv. Catherine Van der Heyden. v. Sarah Van der Heyden; mar. Henry Oothout.

III. Jochem Van der Heyden, son of Dirck and Rachel Jochemse

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(Ketelhuyn) Van der Heyden, was born at Albany, New York, where he was baptized, September 15, 1700, and he died in 1746. His elder brother, David, was his executor. He inherited land from his father, situated at Schaghticoke, New York, which he offered to sell to the Albany Common Council, January 31, 1727. He removed to Schenectady, where he continued to reside.

Jochem Van der Heyden married first Annatje Ketelhuyn, at Albany, January 8, 1725. She was baptized September, 1696; died about 1726, and was the daughter of Daniel Ketelhuyn, of Schenectady, and his wife, Debora Viele. He married second Baata Clute, at Schenectady, July 10, 1730. She was the daughter of Johannes Clute, of Niskayuna, and his wife, Baata Slichtenhorst. She was born at Schenectady, where she was baptized on May 7, 1704, and she died there. Their first four children were born in Albany, where they were baptized, and the last three were born in Schenectady, where they were recorded in the church book of baptisms. Issue:

1. Direk Jochemse Van der Heyden, bap. Oct. 24, 1725; see forward.

2. Johannes Van der Heyden, bap. Nov. 7, 1731; killed March 1, 1756, in a battle with the Indians near Fort Madison. He married Catrina Brouwer, who was bap. at Schenectady, Sept. 28, 1740, the daughter of Jacob and Maria (Bovie) Brouwer, of Schenectady. Issue: Adam Van der Heyden, bap. at Schenectady, Nov. 9, 1755. He was a soldier in the American Revolution, enlisting as a private, serving in the Third New York Regiment of the Line, under Col. James Clinton and Col. Pieter Gansevoort; also, in the First Regiment of the Line, under Col. Goose Van Schaick. (See Records of Sons of the Revolution).

5. Baata Van der Heyden, born at Schenectady, where bap. April 13, 1740. She mar. Matthias Bovie (or Bovier), at Schenectady, Oct. 11, 1760. Issue: i. Baatje Bovie, bap. Albany, May 31, 1761. ii. Geertruy Bovie, bap. Albany, Feb. 2, 1766. iii. Catrina Bovie, bap. Albany, Sept. 11, 1768. iv. Johannes Bovie, bap. Schenectady, ———, 1770. v. Rachel Bovie, bap. Schenectady, Sept. 6, 1772. vi. Rachel Bovie, bap. Schenectady, Nov. 15, 1776. vii. Elisabeth Bovie, bap. Schenectady, June 8, 1784.

6. Matthys Van der Heyden, born in Schenectady, March 7, 1742.

7. Abraham Van der Heyden, born in Schenectady, where bap.

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Oct. 28, 1744; removed to Albany. He was a soldier in the American Revolution.

IV. Dirck Jochemse Van der Heyden, son of Jochem and Annatje (Ketelhuyn) Van der Heyden, was born at Albany, New York, where he was baptised on October 24, 1725. He married Margarita Ketelhuyn (Kittle or Kittel), of Schaghticoke, on February 28, 1754. She was baptised January 24, 1722, and was the daughter of Daniel and Debora (Viele) Ketelhuyn, of Schenectady, New York. Issue:

1. Annatje Van der Heyden, bap. Sept. 8, 1754.

2. Joachim Van der Heyden, (Gersham) bap. April 25, 1756; served in the Revolution, enlisting as a private in First Regt. of the Line, commanded by Col. Goose Van Schaick, also in the 3rd Regiment of the Line, under Col. James Clinton and Col. Pieter Gansevoort.

3. David Van der Heyden, bap. Feb. 26, 1758; see forward.

4. Daniel Van der Heyden, born Feb. 22, 1760; died Sept. 19, 1820. He was an officer in the War of 1812, and in the Revolution enlisted as private in 2nd Regiment of Albany County Militia, under Col. Abraham Wemple; see further.

5. Eva Van der Heyden, born March 3, 1762.

6. Jacob Van der Heyden, born May 17, 1765.

V. David Van der Heyden, son of Dirck and Margarita (Ketelhuyn) Van der Heyden, was born at Albany, New York, where he was baptised on February 26, 1758. He died July 9, 1840. He served in Captain William Pieters' company in the Revolution, enlisting as a private in the Second Regiment of Albany County Militia under Col. Abraham Wemple. He was an Indian trader, traveling as far west as Detroit on horseback. His house lot in Schenectady was the north corner of Union and College streets.

David Van der Heyden married Emmetje Van Vorst. She was born at Schenectady in 1746, and died July 8, 1805, aged 59 yrs., 3 mos., 3 days. She was the mother of his eleven children. They were all born and baptised in Schenectady. His second wife was Gitty Thalimer, who died June 23, 1822, in her 69th year. Issue:

1. Margarita Van der Heyden, bap. July 8, 1781.

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2. Maria Van der Heyden, born Jan. 3, 1784.
3. Annatje Van der Heyden, born Feb. 24, 1786.
4. Johannes Van der Heyden, born Apr. 31, 1787.
5. Evah Van der Heyden, born Jan. 25, 1789.
6. Cornelis Van der Heyden, born Nov. 27, 1791.
7. Elisabeth Van der Heyden, born May 8, 1793.
8. Elisabeth Van der Heyden, born Dec. 10, 1795.
9. Direk Van der Heyden, born Sept. 19, 1798.
10. Daniel Van der Heyden, born Nov. 4, 1800.
11. Debora Van der Heyden, born Nov. 17, 1801.

V. Daniel Van der Heyden, son of Direk and Margarita (Ketelhuyn) Van der Heyden, was born in Schenectady on February 22, 1760. He was a soldier in the American Revolution, enlisting as a private in the Second Regiment of Albany County Militia, under Col. Abraham Wemple.

Daniel Van der Heyden married Maria Van Antwerp (Antwerpen), who was born in Schenectady on November 3, 1759, and was the daughter of Abraham and Annatje (Mebie) Van Antwerp, of Schenectady, N. Y., where all their children were born and baptised.
Issue:

1. Direk Van der Heyden, bap. July 11, 1784.
2. Margarietje Van der Heyden, born Oct. —, 1786.
3. Annatje Van der Heyden, born Mch. 30, 1790.
4. Engeltje Van der Heyden, born June 15, 1792.
5. Eva Van der Heyden, born Dec. 2, 1794.
6. Abraham Van der Heyden, born Aug. 21, 1797.
7. David Van der Heyden, born Apr. 21, 1800.

III. Johannes Van der Heyden, son of Direk and Rachel Jochemse (Ketelhuyn) Van der Heyden, was born in Albany, New York, where he was baptised on March 2, 1707. He was more regularly known as Johannes Direkse Van der Heyden being the son of Direk, to distinguish him from his first cousin, Johannes Van der Heyden, Jr., born August 2, 1702, for they were nearly of the same age, and the latter had come to Albany to live after the death of his father.

He was appointed high constable at the time of the charter election, September 29, 1729. At a meeting of the Common Council

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held at Albany on February 29, 1730, it was decided "that whereas Johannes Dirckse Van der Heyden was appointed high constable of Albany by the Commonalty September 29, 1729, and since then removed out of the city, it was deemed necessary to appoint some one in his place, the Commonalty thereupon named Hendrick Halenbeeck as his successor."

Johannes Dirckse Van der Heyden married Catherine Ward, on September 8, 1736. Issue: Elizabeth Van der Heyden, born April 2, 1738.

II. Johannes Van der Heyden, son of Jacob Mathysen Van der Heyden, progenitor of the family in America, and his wife, Annatje Hals, was born about 1672, and he died Sept.-Oct., 1702.

He was registered a "freeman" of New York City on April 24, 1696/7. He was appointed constable of the North Ward in that city, September 29, 1702, and at a meeting of the aldermen held on October 14, 1702, he was reported as deceased. Shortly after that his brother, Matthys, removed to Maryland, and his brother Dirck was residing in Albany, so his family removed to the latter place.

He married Mary Woodard, January 6, 1697. Issue:

1. Jacob Van der Heyden, bap. New York, April 4, 1697; d. y.
2. Annatje Van der Heyden, bap. New York, January 15, 1699.
3. Jacob Van der Heyden, bap. New York, January 31, 1700.
4. Johannes Van der Heyden, bap. New York, August 2, 1702; see forward.

III. Johannes Van der Heyden, Jr., son of Johannes and Mary (Woodard) Van der Heyden, was born in New York City, where he was baptised on August 2, 1702.

After the death of his father, the family removed to Albany, in order to be near the guidance of Dirck Van der Heyden, the uncle. He made a journey to the country of the Seneca Indians with four companions in 1723, the city of Albany paying for the provisions and other expenses, as recorded in the certificate dated April 18, 1723. He was made a fireman of the First Ward of Albany in 1727, and was a constable in 1728. He was chosen assistant alderman in 1728, and at the charter election, held on September 29, 1737, was elected an Alderman. His will was probated on August 5, 1771. In

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this document he bequeaths his large Dutch Bible, printed in Holland in 1676, to his son, Johannes. This ancient Bible is now owned by Mrs. Alice Easton Pray, of Albany, and contains family records written in Dutch. It was received through line of descent and is prized highly.

Johannes Van der Heyden, Jr., married (first), at Albany, January 16, 1724, Rachel Van der Heyden. She was baptized at Albany, September 19, 1703; died at Schenectady, and was buried "at the Flatts" January 3, 1754. She was the daughter of Direk and Rachel Jochemse (Ketelhuyn) Van der Heyden. All his children by this marriage were born and baptised in Albany. He married (second), at Schenectady, N. Y., August 5, 1758, Mary Butler, daughter of Lieutenant Walter and Deborah (Butler) Butler. Issue:

1. Johannes Van der Heyden, bap. Nov. 14, 1725; married Catryna, daughter of Gysbert Van Brokelen. Issue: i. Maria Van der Heyden, bap. Schenectady, June 26, 1757. ii. Rachel Van der Heyden, bap. Schenectady, May 31, 1761; mar. David Foreest. iii. Johannes Van der Heyden, mar. Annatje Perrie.

2. Rachel Van der Heyden, bap. Nov. 19, 1727; buried at Albany, Dec. 2, 1727.

3. Direk Van der Heyden, bap. Jan. 19, 1729; was a soldier in the American Revolution, enlisting as a private in the First Regiment of the Line, commanded by Col. Goose Van Schaick, and also in the Third Regiment, under Col. James Clinton and Col. Pieter Gansevoort.

4. Jacob Van der Heyden, bap. May 15, 1731; mar. Lea Brouwer. Issue: Johannes Van der Heyden, bap. at Albany, March 12, 1754; buried at Albany, March 13, 1755.

5. Maria Van der Heyden, bap. Sept. 16, 1733.

6. Rachel Van der Heyden, bap. May 2, 1736; mar. at Schenectady, Dec. 10, 1758, Capt. Jonathan Ogden, of a Westchester regiment, and had a daughter, Susanna Ogden, bap. at Schenectady, Aug. 3, 1764.

7. David Van der Heyden, bap. April 27, 1740.

8. Mattheus Van der Heyden, bap. Dec. 1, 1742.

9. Janneke Van der Heyden, bap. May 8, 1748.

William Copley Winslow, D. D.

ARCHAEOLOGIST

The family name of Winslow is of local derivation and is derived from the town of Winslow in Buckinghamshire in England. It is more than possible, however, that at the time the Danes made incursions into England, some of the Winslows from Denmark remained there to settle. The Winslows today in Denmark have had the same coat-of-arms and motto for a thousand years that the English Winslows possessed, and which Governor Edward Winslow officially used at Plymouth, and is engraved on his table plate now in Pilgrim Hall. James Benignus Winslow, the celebrated Danish anatomist, (1669-1700) had the same coat-of-arms.

William Winslow of Wyncelow, the first of the line, as traced in England, had two sons. John of London, afterwards of Wyncelow Hall, was living in 1387-88. He married Mary Crouchman, and died in 1409-10. The other son, William, had a son, Thomas; he was of Burton, County Oxford, and also had lands in County Essex. He was living in 1452, and married an heiress, Cecelia Tansley, who was known as Lady Agnes. Their son, William, was living in 1529, and his son, Kenelm, purchased in 1559 of Sir Richard Newport an estate called Newport Place, in Kempsey, Worcestershire. He also owned an extensive estate in the same parish called Clerkenleap, which was sold by his grandson, Richard Winslow, in 1655. He died in 1607, in the parish of St. Andrew. His will, dated April 14, 1607, and proved November 9 of the same year, is still preserved at Worcester, England.

His only son was Edward Winslow, born in the parish of St. Andrew, Worcestershire, England, October 17, 1560, and who died before 1631. He lived in Kempsey and Droitwich, Worcestershire. He married (first) Eleanor Pelham, of Droitwich, Worcestershire, and (second) at St. Bride Church, London, November 4, 1594, Mag-

dalene Oliver. They had nine children: Richard, born about 1585; Edward, born October 18, 1595, at Droitwich, who became Governor of Plymouth Colony, and married for his second wife Susannah (Fuller) White, the widow of William White, whose son was Peregrine White, the first born child of Plymouth Colony; John, born April 16, 1597, who married Mary Chilton, of the "Mayflower," and died in 1674, in Boston, Massachusetts; Eleanor, who remained in England; Kenelm, mentioned below; Gilbert, born October 26, 1600, who came in the "Mayflower," signed the compact, returned to England after 1623, and died there; Elizabeth, who died in England; Magdalene, who remained in England; and Josiah, born February 11, 1605, who died at Marshfield, Massachusetts, December 1, 1674.

Kenelm Winslow, son of Edward Winslow, was born at Droitwich, April 29, 1599, baptized at St. Peter's Church, May 3, 1599, and died at Salem, Massachusetts, September 13, 1672. He came first to Plymouth with his brother, Josiah, and was admitted a freeman January 1, 1632-33. He removed to Marshfield, Massachusetts, about 1641, having previously received a grant of land there, at Green's Harbor. This home of Kenelm Winslow was on a gentle eminence by the sea between Green harbor and South river. This tract of township was considered the Eden of the region. It was beautiful with groves of majestic oaks and graceful walnuts, with the underground void of shrubbery. A few of these groves were standing as late as 1854. Kenelm Winslow received other land grants; he was one of the twenty-six original proprietors of Assonet, now Freetown, Massachusetts. He was a joiner and builder by trade, as well as a planter. He filled various town offices, was deputy to the General Court from 1642 to 1644 and from 1649 to 1653, eight years in all. He married, in June, 1634, Eleanor Adams, widow of John Adams, of Plymouth. She survived him, and died at Marshfield, Massachusetts, December 5, 1681, aged eighty-three years. Their children were: Kenelm, whose gravestone at East Dennis is still legible, Eleanor, Ellen, Nathaniel, who inherited his father's homestead, and Job.

Kenelm Winslow was the immigrant ancestor of that branch of the family that William Copley Winslow is descended from. The

latter's grandfather, Nathaniel Winslow, married Anna Kellogg, of Sheffield, Massachusetts, and their son, the Reverend Hubbard Winslow, D. D., married Susan Ward Cutler, a daughter of Joseph and Phoebe (Ward) Cutler, of West Brookfield, Massachusetts. Reverend Hubbard Winslow was widely known as an author and educator, and in 1832 he succeeded Dr. Lyman Beecher in the Bowdoin Street Church in Boston, Massachusetts, where Lowell Mason, as choir leader, set to music "America," there first sung in public.

On his mother's side, William was descended from William and Ann Hobby, who came to Boston soon after its settlement, and are buried in Copp's Hill Cemetery. From their son, Sir Charles Hobby and daughter, Judith, are descended several leading families in Boston—the Saltonstalls, Lees and Higginsons. Judith married John Coleman, brother of Benjamin Coleman, D. D., first pastor of the Brattle Street Church. Their son, Benjamin Coleman, married Hannah Pemberton, who lived in what is now known as Pemberton Square, and their daughter, Mary, married Rev. Ephraim Ward, for nearly fifty years pastor at West Brookfield, whose daughter, Phoebe, married a Cutler, they being the maternal grandparents of William Copley, and in whose family is the old Coleman-Pemberton tomb in King's Chapel yard, Boston, where a sister of his, Anna, who died in 1830, had been buried.

William C. Winslow was born in Boston, Massachusetts, January 13, 1840, and prepared for college at the Boston Latin School, graduating in 1862 from Hamilton College in Clinton, New York. During his collegiate course he was instrumental with W. G. Sumner and Joseph Cook of Yale College in founding in 1861 "The University Quarterly Review." He was co-editor of "The Hamiltonian" during his senior year.

After graduating he was for a short time on the staff of the "New York World," and later with Dr. Tyng as associate editor of the "Christian Times." During this period of 1862-65 he was a student at the General Theological Seminary of New York City, and from which he graduated in 1865. He was admitted to the diaconate of the Protestant Episcopal church in 1865, and to the priesthood in 1867. Several months in 1866 were spent in studying archaeology and ancient sculpture in Italy. Returning to the United

States, he lectured and wrote on these subjects. His only charge as full rector was at St. George's Church in Lee, Massachusetts, in 1867-70. During this time he served as chairman of the school board and vice-president of the Berkshire County Bible Society.

He removed to Boston, Massachusetts, in November, 1870, where he devoted his time chiefly to historical and archaeological researches, besides preaching in different churches and holding temporary charges in the diocese of Massachusetts. He camped many times in the Adirondacks when it was a wilderness, and became largely interested in the preservation of the forest, upon which he lectured and wrote articles for the press. He was chaplain of St. Luke's Home, Boston, 1877-81. He has been executive secretary of the Massachusetts Free Church Association since 1881, and has served officially in Boston in societies there and on various committees in the learned bodies of Europe and America.

His report to the Journal of Convention of 1889 remarks: "I simply add that I have officiated at 110 services, attended 97 meetings (taking part in 82 of them), for philanthropical, charitable, educational, or historical purposes, and been present at 27 committee meetings. Sermons, addresses, remarks, lectures, for all occasions, church and secular, foot up 199." The report in 1892 sums up his work: "Delivered or read 42 lectures, addresses, papers on subjects chiefly historical, archaeological, Biblical; wrote 282 articles, letters, editorials, for the press; despatched 3,200 official letters and notes; mailed 17,000 circulars." Probably 1,000 volumes of the Egypt Exploration Fund were distributed during that year in the United States, and the money sent to England footed up £1,350. In 1901 Dr. Winslow received over \$12,000 for the Fund.

It is, however, in his archaeological labors and oriental researches that Dr. Winslow won his renowned reputation in this and foreign lands. He spent in 1880 four months of study in Egypt and Syria, and saw the obelisk lowered at Alexandria that is now in New York. Entirely through his efforts the colossal statue of Rameses II and the head of Hathor, the Egyptian Venus, were presented to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The Museum contains other splendid monumental objects procured through him; such as the gigantic column from Bubastis, and the exquisite palm-leaf column from Ahnas.

Other rare objects are the gold handle to Pharaoh Hophra's tray; the sard and gold sceptre of King Khaskemhui of the second dynasty, the oldest extant sceptre in the world. He also secured from Professor Petrie the two mummies with their portraits in colors from Hawara. Several universities have received through him valuable papyri discovered in the last decade of the nineteenth century, among them what was considered the oldest fragment of the Gospels in the world, containing a large part of the first chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew. It was found in Oxyrhynchus, one hundred and forty miles south of Cairo, near the famous "Logia" or "Sayings of Jesus," and its date is given by most experts as 150 A. D. The oldest extant fragment of St. Paul he placed in the Semitic Museum at Harvard.

In 1883 Dr. Winslow founded the American Branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund, becoming successively its honorary treasurer and honorary secretary and vice-president for the United States. He became by vote of the London Committee "the official representative of the Fund in America." He not only created the American Branch, but his incessant labors built it up and these labors were wholly gratuitous. Through his efforts, directly and indirectly, probably \$200,000 have been raised. At a general meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund held in London in 1888, it was officially announced that "Dr. Winslow, with the single exception of Sir Erasmus Wilson, has done more than any one, not merely for the work of the society but for the cause of Biblical research in connection with Egyptology, throughout the civilized world." The official circular of the Society in London for 1899 states that "from its foundation, the Egypt Exploration Fund has received large pecuniary support from the United States, chiefly through the enthusiasm and energy of the Rev. Dr. W. C. Winslow, of Boston."

At the request of of Naville, its author, the German government in 1887 presented two copies of his great work "The Book of the Dead," in three volumes, to America—one to the American Oriental Society, the other to Dr. Winslow.

He was among the first in the United States to advocate archaeology as a science, and to be financially supported, and he was the pioneer in this country of Egyptian exploration. Oliver Wendell

Holmes in 1884 sent him that witty letter, "I believe in the spade," which appears in his "Life and Letters." John Greenleaf Whittier's letter to him, now in his "Life and Letters," is in the same strain.

The American Branch after 1883 furnished one-half the money, sometimes more, for the preparation of forty illustrated quarto volumes published in London.

It was owing to Dr. Winslow's earnest persuasion that Miss Amelia B. Edwards came to America, and to his untiring efforts that a large part of her brilliant series of lecture engagements, especially university or academic, was secured. Her first collegiate lecture was at Vassar. We quote from his brochure, "The Queen of Egyptology:"

"No single achievement of my life is more gratifying to me than my successful effort to induce my friend to visit the United States. The invitation was a fitting *avant coureur* to the welcome and success that everywhere was hers. Having written over two hundred personal notes to representative men and women in every department of life and work, I put out a leaflet, on March 1st, 1889, upon her capacities to lecture and her topics, to which I appended the invitation, signed by Whittier, Lowell, Holmes, Curtis, Warner, Parkman, Booth, Vanderbilt, Morton, Storrs, the editors of *Harpers*, *The Century*, *The Atlantic*, *Scribner's*, *The Nation*, *The Critic*, *The Literary World*, about all the leading university and college presidents, etc.,—some two hundred names in all."

Dr. Winslow has served officially upon committees in the New England Historic-Genealogical, Bostonian, Webster Historical, Good Citizenship, Institute of Civics, American Oriental, American Historical Association, and other societies, and as an active member of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Historical Association, American Statistical, Economic, and other societies, in some of whose published Proceedings are his papers. He was officially invited by the corporation of Southampton, England, to participate in the Pilgrim Memorial celebration of a few years ago.

As an archaeologist, he is honorary fellow of the Royal Archaeological Institute; corresponding member of the British Archaeological Association; honorary correspondent of the Victoria Insti-

tute; honorary fellow of the Royal Society Arts and Sciences and fellow of the Antiquarians of Scotland. He is on the honorary rolls of five New England and nineteen other State historical societies in the United States. He is also on the honorary roll of the Nova Scotia and Quebec Historical Societies and the Montreal Society of Natural History. His last important recognition was an election as honorary fellow of the Society of Oriental Research at Chicago in 1917. As a former member of the Appalachian Club of Boston, he has explored and written upon the mountains of New Hampshire. He has been president of the New England Alumni of Hamilton College; and at the Centennial of Hamilton College, 1912, Elihu Root, a college mate, was president, and Dr. Winslow vice-president. In 1881 he was instrumental in founding the Clerical Club of Boston. For ten years he was Excellent High Priest of the St. Bernard Commandery, Boston.

In 1902 Dr. Winslow informed the Fund Committee in London of his inability to remain in office under the conditions then existing in the Boston office. He began to assist the renowned explorer, Professor Petrie, in the work of the Egyptian Research Account (Society), Dr. Petrie having previously severed his connection with the Fund. In 1914 the American Branch of the Research was established with Dr. Breasted, of Chicago, the foremost American Egyptologist, as president, and Dr. Winslow as vice-president and honorary treasurer of the Research. It has issued thirty-seven illustrated volumes, and its chief monumental trophy in America is the colossal sphinx erected in front of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. This is next in importance to the obelisk at the Metropolitan Museum. The Research also publishes the magazine "Ancient Egypt."

Hobart College in 1865 conferred on Dr. Winslow the honorary degree of A. M.; Hamilton College in 1886 made him a Ph.D.; Columbia University at its centennial in 1887, L. H. D.; Griswold College, D. D. in 1885; and Amherst College in 1887, D. D.; St. Andrews University, Scotland, LL.D. in 1888; King's College University, Nova Scotia, D. C. L. in 1888; and St. John's College of Annapolis, Maryland, Sc. D. in 1889 "in recognition of the learning and ability with which he has conducted scientific investigations."

WILLIAM COPLEY WINSLOW, D. D.

Dr. Winslow is a recognized authority in Egyptological research and exploration, and an authority in New England history, especially that referring to Plymouth Colony; his work along this line covers many scores of articles in pamphlet and magazine form, and his special work in archaeology appears in at least a thousand articles since 1880 dealing with discoveries in Egypt and the cause of exploration. He has been associate editor of the "American Antiquarian," also of the "American Historical Register," and a regular writer for the "Biblia." He has sometimes prepared from one hundred to one hundred and fifty articles or letters in a year for the daily and weekly press. He has written for standard encyclopedias, delivered addresses before learned societies, and has been a university lecturer. He is the author of: "What Says Egypt of Israel?" 1883; "The Store City of Pithom," 1885; "A Greek City of Egypt," 1886; "Tombs at Beni Hasen," "Egypt at Home," 1891; "Pilgrim Fathers in Holland," 1891; "Governor Edward Winslow," 1895; "Explorations at Zoan," "Egyptian Antiquities for Museums," 1900; "Papyri in the United States," 1901, etc., and was assistant editor of the "Winslow Memorial," 1886.

Dr. Winslow married, June 20, 1867, Harriet Stillman Hayward, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Davenport) Hayward, and granddaughter of Surgeon-General Hayward, of the American Revolution, whose residence and garden occupied what is now Hayward Place, adjoining Washington street, Boston. She was in the tenth generation of descent from William the Silent, Prince of Orange. She died September 13, 1915. A daughter, Mary, survives. He married, May 24th, 1917, Elizabeth Bruce Roelofson, whose great-grandfather was Dr. Winslow's grandfather's brother on his mother's side. She is a direct descendant of Robert Bruce, Liberator of Scotland, also, on the Dutch side, from Anneke Jans, an early settler in New York, whose husband was Roeloff, their son taking the name of Roeloffson. Her grandfather was the first manufacturer of broadcloth in the United States, and her father was an officer in the Union army in the Civil War. His brother was with Pullman, the originator of the sleeping car, and vice-president of the Pullman Company.

Editorial

OF TIMELY INTEREST

In this number of our Magazine are articles of special and timely interest. Of first importance is that on the Illinois Centennial, now in course of celebration throughout the bounds of that State, and closing on December 3rd, the one hundredth anniversary of its admission to the Union. This article is written by a resident of Illinois, one thoroughly conversant with its history, and deeply imbued with the spirit of its lessons, especially as exemplified in the lives and services of its most illustrious sons, those to whom is due the preservation of the Union—Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant. The writer has performed his task on the ground trod by these mighty men, and much of his material has been drawn from original documents, and from men who were familiar with the giant figures of the days which culminated in the successful War for the Union—a struggle which, had it failed, would in all probability have doomed the world to autocracy and militarism for centuries to come.

This article is embellished with several excellent illustrations. For two of these we are indebted to Mr. Hugh S. Magill, Jr., Director of the Illinois Centennial Commission—the statues of Lincoln and Douglas, recently set up on the capitol grounds at Springfield, Illinois, and to be unveiled October 5th. President Wilson has given assurance that he will be present unless prevented by some unusual circumstance. For the other illustrations in the Magazine, pertaining to Lincoln, including the fine portrait of Lincoln as he appeared in the days of his great debate with Douglas on the question of slavery in the territories, we owe gratitude to Major E. S. Johnson, Custodian of the Lincoln Monument at Springfield, the sole survivor of the group of Springfield men who stood guard night and day over the temporary tomb of the Martyred President from the time the attempt was made to steal the sacred remains, until

they were hermetically sealed and covered with the tons of granite which compose his resting place.

In the near future, a statue of General Ulysses S. Grant is to be erected near those of Lincoln and Douglas, thus completing a triumvirate group of wonderfully historic importance.

Closely related to the chapter on "the Illinois Centennial," is that on General Arthur St. Clair, first Governor of the Northwest Territory, first known as "the Illinois Country," and "Illinois County of Virginia," and out of which the State of Illinois was carved. The remains of the famous man are interred at Greensburg, Pennsylvania, where he passed his later years and died, and the narrative concerning him is from the pen of a native and resident of that place, a well equipped local historian and antiquarian.

The chapter on "Americans as Conquistadores and Annexationists," is a timely exposition of the policies and practices of the United States in relation to its various acquisitions of foreign territory, and sets forth with great clearness our freedom as a nation from the continental sin of covetousness and land robbery.

SUNDAY IN WAR TIMES

With a full recognition of the righteousness of their cause in the great World War in which they have taken a part, the people of the United States have reason for satisfaction in the fact that whenever they have been called to arms, their President and leading generals have laid much emphasis upon Sabbath observance in army and navy. This out of no straight-laced or superstitious thought, but out of practical necessity—the recuperation of men hard pressed with toil and exposure, and regard for due mental and moral conditions.

These considerations have been earnestly set forth in a recent pamphlet issued by the New York Sabbath Committee. This body was formed years ago, primarily to preserve to working men and women a weekly rest day, but also recognizing to the full the vital connection of the religious observance of the Sabbath with the

spiritual life of men and the welfare of society—a thought well expressed by Hon. John Bright in a speech before the House of Commons, as applicable to America as to Great Britain, and quoted in the pamphlet referred to: “The stability and character of our country, and the advancement of our race, depend, I believe, very largely upon the mode by which the Day of Rest, which seems to have been specially adapted to the needs of mankind, shall be used and observed. The day has had an influence on our national character, and contributed a sobriety, a steadiness, and a thoughtfulness to it, which it otherwise would have wanted.”

The citations which follow are all from the Sabbath Committee pamphlet, specially prepared to meet present-day rather than general conditions, and show that the principles set forth above have governed our Presidents and leading military and naval commanders in the great crises of our country. As early as August 3rd, 1776, Washington issued an order beginning thus: “That the troops may have an opportunity of attending public worship, as well as to take some rest after the great fatigue they have gone through, the General, in future, excuses them from fatigue duty on Sundays, except at the shipyards, or on special occasions.” Following this, he issued orders at times with greater particularity, and on May 2nd, 1778, after the dreadful winter at Valley Forge, the following:

The Commander-in-Chief directs that Divine Service be performed every Sunday at 11 o'clock, in those brigades to which there are chaplains—those which have none, to attend the place of worship nearest to them. It is expected that officers of all ranks will, by their attendance, set an example to their men.

While we are zealously performing the duties of good citizens and soldiers, we certainly ought not to be inattentive to the higher duties of religion. To the distinguished character of patriot, it should be our highest glory to add the more distinguished characters of Christians.

The signal instances of providential goodness which we have experienced, and which have now almost crowned our labors with complete success, demand from us in a peculiar manner the warmest returns of gratitude and piety to the Supreme Author of All Good.

The great War for the Union evoked from President Lincoln and

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his principal Army and Navy commanders, orders of like spirit with the above. The Sabbath Committee began the work by requesting General Winfield Scott, then in supreme military command, to promote Sabbath observance in the army as far as possible. It was on the very eve of the venerable general retiring from service on account of the infirmities of age, and he referred the request to his successor, General George B. McClellan, who at once issued the following order, the spirit and verbiage of which are eminently applicable to the present time:

The Major-General commanding desires and requests that in future there may be more perfect respect for the Sabbath on the part of his command. We are fighting in a holy cause, and should endeavor to deserve the benign favor of the Creator. Unless in the case of an attack by the enemy, or some other extreme military necessity, it is commended to commanding officers that all work shall be suspended on the Sabbath; that no unnecessary movements shall be made on that day; that the men shall, so far as possible, be permitted to rest from their labors; that they shall attend Divine Service after the customary Sunday morning inspection; and that officers and men shall alike use their influence to insure the utmost decorum and quiet on that day. The General commanding regards this as no idle form; one day's rest in seven is necessary to men and animals; more than this, the observance of the Holy Day of the God of Mercy and of Battles, is our sacred duty.

Shortly afterward, General Ulysses S. Grant, commanding in the West, issued an order of similar purport, and Commodore Foote, of the Navy, the following:

A strict observance of Sunday, as far as abstaining from all unnecessary work, and giving officers and men the opportunity of attending public worship on board, will be observed by all persons connected with the flotilla. It is the wish of the Commander-in-Chief that on Sunday the public worship of Almighty God may be observed on board of all the vessels composing the flotilla; and that the respective commanders will, either themselves, or cause other persons, to pronounce prayers publicly on Sunday, when as many of the officers and men as can be spared from duty, may attend the public worship of Almighty God.

In November, 1862, the second year of the War for the Union, a

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deputation from the Sabbath Committee visited President Lincoln, to request the issuance of an order protecting the rights of soldiers and sailors to a weekly day of rest and worship. In replying, the President made an earnest informal address, in which he used these memorable words: "As we keep or break the Sabbath Day, we nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope by which man rises." And the words of General Silas Casey are deserving of special consideration in the present day:

I have been thirty-six years in the military service of my country, and I know that the army needs a Sabbath. I was five years in the Florida War. In long marches, better time will be made, and the men will go through in better condition, by resting on the Sabbath, than by continuous marching. No prudent general will plan for a Sunday battle. I would appeal to the American people to save our Sabbath. If our wealth should be lost in this terrible war (this was said in 1862; how much more impressive today?) it may be recovered. If our young men are killed off, others will grow up and take their places; but if our American Sabbath is lost, it can never be restored, and all is lost.

President Lincoln's order of November 15, 1862, reads as follows:

The President, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, desires and enjoins the orderly observance of the Sabbath by the officers and men in the military and naval service. The importance for man and beast of the prescribed weekly rest, a becoming deference to the best sentiment of a Christian people, and a due regard for the Divine Will, demand that Sunday labor in the Army and Navy may be reduced to the measures of strict necessity. The discipline and character of the national forces should not suffer, nor the cause they serve be imperiled by the profanation of the day or name of the Most High. "At this time of public distress," adopting the words of Washington in 1776, "Men may find enough to do in the service of God and their country, without abandoning themselves to vice and immorality." The first general order issued by the Father of His Country after the Declaration of Independence, indicates the spirit in which our institutions were founded, and should ever be defended: "The General hopes and trusts that every officer and man will endeavor to live and act as becomes a Christian soldier defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country."

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In view of facts that came to the knowledge of the Sabbath Committee, concerning public parades and unnecessary labor on Sundays at military stations, a memorial was addressed to President Harrison, who on June 7, 1889, issued an order in which he made feeling reference to the Sabbath observance orders of Washington and Lincoln, and continued:

The truth so concisely stated, cannot be too faithfully regarded, and the pressure to ignore it is far less now than in the midst of war. To recall the kindly and considerate spirit of the orders issued by these great men in the most trying times of our history, and to promote contentment and efficiency, the President directs that Sunday morning inspection will be merely of the dress and general appearance, without arms; and the more complete inspection under arms, with all men present, will take place on Saturday.

On June 12, 1899, President McKinley issued a Sabbath observance order, in which he particularly cited those of Washington and Lincoln. It was substantially a repetition of the order of President Harrison.

None would mistrust the sentiments of President Wilson in such a matter as Sabbath observance, nor need there be wonder that he overlooked the matter, under such tremendous burden of responsibilities as are his in all the varied lines of direction of war and diplomatic affairs. In January of the present year, the Sabbath Committee, through its secretary, the Rev. Duncan J. McMillan, D. D., a veteran of the War for the Union, commander of a leading Grand Army Post of New York City, and chaplain-in-chief of the Order in the State of New York, addressed him with reference to the matter. In response, the President's private secretary wrote, "I beg to enclose copy of the order which the President has been glad to make in the matter of the observance of the Sabbath Day by the officers and men of the Army and Navy." The order is as follows:

The President, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, following the reverent example of his predecessors, desires and enjoins the orderly observance of the Sabbath by the officers and men in the military and naval service of the United States. The importance

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for man and beast of the prescribed weekly rest, the sacred rights of Christian soldiers and sailors, a becoming deference to the best sentiment of a Christian people, and a due regard for the Divine Will, demand that Sunday labor in the Army and Navy be reduced to the measure of strictest necessity.

Such an observance of Sunday is dictated by the best traditions of our people, and by the convictions of all who look to Divine Providence for guidance and protection; and, in repeating in this order the language of President Lincoln, the President is confident that he is speaking alike to the hearts and to the conscience of those under his authority.



STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF AMERICANA, published Quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for April 1st, 1918.

State of New York, }
County of New York, } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and having filed a certificate in the county aforesaid, personally appeared Marion L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The Americana Historical Society, Somerville, N. J., and No. 267 Broadway, New York City. Editor, Fenwick Y. Hedley, No. 267 Broadway, New York City. Managing Editor, Marion L. Lewis, No. 267 Broadway, New York City. Business Manager, Marion L. Lewis, No. 267 Broadway, New York City.

2. That the owners are: Benjamin F. Lewis, Jr., No. 542 South Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill.; Marion L. Lewis, No. 171 Prospect street, West Nutley, N. J.; Metcalf B. Hatch, Nutley, N. J.; Ed Lewis, No. 2121 Foster avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Florence A. Kelsey, Great Barrington, Mass.; Benjamin F. Lewis, Sr., No. 908 Central avenue, Wilmette, Ill.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

M. L. LEWIS, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 9th day of May, 1918.

EDWARD J. MARTIN,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 30, 1919).

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